CERTAIN

Miſcellany Works

OF

The Right Honourable

FRANCIS

LORD VERULAM,

Viſcount St. Alban.

PUBLISHED

By *WILLIAM RAWLEY*,

Doctor of Divinity, one of His Majeſties Chaplains.

LONDON,

Printed by *T. J.* for *H. R.* and are to be ſold by *Wil. Lee*, at the *Turks-Head* in *Fleet-ſtreet*.

M. DC. LXX.

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TO THE READER.

I *Have thought good, as a Servant, to the Labours and Memory, of that Noble Lord, the Lord* Viſcount St. Alban, *to Collect into one, theſe few, rather Parcells, than Juſt Works, of his excellent Pen. Which I have done for theſe Cauſes. Firſt, to vindicate the Wrong his Lordſhip ſuffered, by a corrupt and ſurreptitious Edition, of that* Diſcourſe *of his,* Touching a War with Spain, *lately ſet forth. Secondly, by way of Prevention, to exempt from the like Injury and Defacements, thoſe other* Diſcourſes *of his, herein contained. Laſtly, to ſatisfie the Deſires of ſome, who hold it unreaſonable, that any the Delineations of that Pen, though in never ſo ſmall a Model, ſhould not be ſhewn to the World. I know, it carries the Excuſe with it, after the* Authors *Death, to publiſh* Fragments. *Therefore I will make none. Theſe* Works, *being all, for the Argument,* Civil, *I cannot repreſent better, than in*

Reſemblance of Ariſtotles Parva Naturalia, *to account them as his Lordſhips* Parva Politica. *Howſoever, I doubt not, but every Judicious* Reader, *finding of his Lordſhips Spirit in them, will know them to be his; And will afford them, a Place of Reputation, amongſt his Greater* Works.

W. RAWLEY.

CON-

CONSIDERATIONS
Touching a War with
SPAIN.

To the Prince.

Our Highneſs hath an *Imperial Name.* It was a *CHARLES* that brought the Empire firſt into *France*; A *CHARLES* that brought it firſt into *Spain*: Why ſhould not *Great Britain* have his turn? But to lay aſide all that may ſeem to have a ſhew of Fumes and Fancies, and to ſpeak Solids: A *War* with *Spain*, (if the King ſhall enter into it,) is a mighty Work; It requireth ſtrong Materials, and Active Motions. He that ſaith not ſo, is zealous, but not according to knowledge. But nevertheleſs, *Spain* is no ſuch Giant: And he that thinketh *Spain* to be ſome great Over-match for this Eſtate, aſſiſted as it is, and may be, is no good Mint-man; But takes greatneſs of Kingdoms according to their Bulk and Currency, and not after their intrinſique Value. Although therefore I had wholly ſequeſtred my thoughts from Civil Affairs, yet becauſe it is a new Caſe, and concerneth my Countrey infinitely, I obtained of my ſelf, to ſet down, out of long continued Experience in Buſineſs of Eſtate, and much Converſation in Books of *Policy* and *Hiſtory*, what I thought pertinent to this Buſineſs; And in all humbleneſs preſent it to Your Highneſs; Hoping, that, at leaſt, you will diſcern the ſtrength of my Affection, through the weakneſs of my Abilities: For the Spaniard hath a good Proverb; *Deſuario ſiempre con la Calentura*; *There is no Heat of Affection, but is joyned with ſome Idleneſs of Brain.*

To a War are required; *A Juſt Quarrel*; *Sufficient Forces and Proviſions*; And *a prudent Choice of the Deſigns.* So then, I will firſt *juſtifie* the *Quarrel*; Secondly, *ballance* the *Forces*; and laſtly, propound variety of *Deſigns* for Choice, but not *adviſe* the Choice; For that were not fit for a Writing of this Nature; Neither is it a Subject within the Level of my Judgement, I being, in effect, a Stranger to the preſent Occurrences.

Wars (I ſpeak not of ambitious Predatory *Wars*,) are *Suits* of *Appeal* to the *Tribunal* of *Gods Juſtice*, where there are no *Superiors*

on earth to determine the Cause. And they are (as Civil Pleas are) *Plaints*, or *Defences*. There are therefore three just Grounds of *War* with *Spain*: One *Plaint*, Two upon *Defence*. *Solomon* saith, *A Cord of three is not easily broken*: But especially when every of the lines will hold single by it self. They are these. *The Recovery of the* Palatinate; *A just Fear of the Subversion of our Civil Estate*: *A just Fear of the Subversion of our Church and Religion*. For in the handling of the two last Grounds of *War*, I shall make it plain; That *Wars* Preventive upon *Just Fears*, are true *Defensives*, as well as upon Actual *Invasions*: And again, That *Wars Defensive* for *Religion*, (I speak not of *Rebellion*,) are most just; Though *Offensive Wars*, for *Religion*, are seldom to be approved, or never, unless they have some Mixture of *Civil Titles*. But all that I shall say in this whole Argument, will be but like Bottoms of Thred, close wound up, which with a good Needle (perhaps) may be flourished into large Works.

For the Asserting of the *Justice of the Quarrel*, for the *Recovery of the* Palatinate, I shall not go so high, as to discuss the Right of the *War* of *Bohemia*; Which if it be freed from doubt on our part, then there is no Colour nor Shadow, why the *Palatinate* should be retained; The Ravishing whereof was a meer Excursion of the first Wrong, and a Super-Injustice. But I do not take my self to be so perfect in the Customs, Transactions, and Priviledges of that Kingdom of *Bohemia*, as to be fit to handle that part. And I will not offer at that I cannot master. Yet this I will say (in passage) positively, and resolutely: That it is impossible, an *Elective Monarchy*, should be so free and absolute, as an *Hereditary*: No more than it is possible for a Father, to have so full Power and Interest, in an Adoptive Son, as in a Natural; *Quia Naturalis Obligatio fortior Civili*. And again, that Received *Maxim* is almost Unshaken and Infallible; *Nil magis Naturæ consentaneum est, quam ut iisdem modis Res dissolvantur, quibus constituuntur*. So that, if the part of the *People* or *Estate* be somewhat in the Election, you cannot make them Nulls or Cyphers in the Privation or Translation. And if it be said, that this is a dangerous Opinion, for the *Pope*, *Emperour*, and *Elective Kings*: It is true, it is a dangerous Opinion, and ought to be a dangerous Opinion to such personal *Popes*, *Emperors*, or *Elective Kings*, as shall transcend their limits, and become Tyrannical. But it is a safe and sound Opinions for their Sees, Empires, and Kingdoms; And for themselves also, if they be wise: *Plenitudo Potestatis*, *est plenitudo Tempestatis*. But the chief Cause, why I do not search into this point, is, because I need it not. And in handling the Right of a *War*, I am not willing to intermix matter doubtful, with that which is out of doubt. For as in Capital Causes, wherein but one Mans life is in question, *in favorem vitæ*, the Evidence ought to be clear; So much more, in a Judgement upon a *War*, which is Capital to Thousands. I suppose therefore the worst; That the *Offensive War* upon *Bohemia* had been unjust; And then make the Case; Which is no sooner made, than resolved;

ved; If it be made, not enwrapped, but plainly and perspicuously. It is this in *Thesi*. An *Offensive War* is made, which is unjust in the Aggressour; The Prosecution and Race of the *War*, carrieth the *Defendant*, to assail and invade the Ancient and Indubitate Patrimony of the first *Aggressour*, who is now turned *Defendant*; Shall he sit down, and not put himself in *Defence*; Or if he be dispossessed, shall he not make a *War* for the Recovery? No man is so poor of Judgement, as will affirm it. The Castle of *Cadmus* was taken, and the City of *Thebes* it self invested by *Phebidas* the *Lacedemonian*, insidiously, and in violation of League: The Process of this Action drew on a Resurprise of the Castle by the *Thebans*, a Recovery of the *Town*, and a Current of the *War*, even unto the walls of *Sparta*. I demand, was the Defence of the City of *Sparta*, and the Expulsion of the *Thebans*, out of the ancient *Laconian Territories*, unjust? The sharing of that part of the *Dutchy* of *Millain*, which lieth upon the River of *Adda*, by the *Venetians*, upon Contract with the *French*, was an Ambitious and unjust Purchase. This Wheel set on going, did pour a *War* upon the *Venetians* with such a Tempest, as *Padoua* and *Trevigi* was taken from them, and all their *Dominions* upon the *Continent* of *Italy* abandoned, and they confined within the Salt Waters. Will any man say, that the Memorable Recovery and Defence of *Padoua*, (when the Gentlemen of *Venice*, unused to the *Wars*, out of the love of their Countrey, became Brave and Martial the first day;) And so likewise the *Readeption* of *Trevigi*, and the rest of their Dominions, was matter of Scruple, whether just or no, because it had source from a Quarrel ill begun? The *War* of the *Duke* of *Urbin*, Nephew to *Pope Julius* the second, when he made himself Head of the *Spanish* Mutineers, was as unjust, as unjust might be; A Support of desperate Rebels, An Invasion of St. *Peters* Patrimony, and what you will. The Race of this *War* fell upon the loss of *Urbin* it self, which was the *Dukes* undoubted Right; Yet in this case, no Penitentiary, (though he had enjoyned him never so strait Penance to expiate his first Offence,) would have counselled him to have given over the pursuit of his Right for *Urbin*; Which after he prosperously re-obtained, and hath transmitted to his Family yet until this day. Nothing more unjust than the Invasion of the *Spanish Armada* in 88. upon our Seas; For our Land was holy Land to them, they might not touch it: Shall I say therefore, that the Defence of *Lisbon*, or *Cales*, afterward, was unjust? There be thousands of Examples; *Utor in Re non dubia exemplis non necessariis*; The Reason is plain; *Wars* are *Vindictæ*; Revenges, Reparations. But Revenges are not infinite, but according to the measure of the first Wrong, or Damage. And therefore, when a voluntary *Offensive War*, by the Design or Fortune of the *War*, is turned to a necessary *Defensive War*, the Scene of the Tragedy is changed, and it is a new Act to begin. For though they the particular actions of *War*, are complicate in Fact, yet they are separate and distinct in Right; Like to cross Suits in *Civil Pleas*, which are sometimes both just. But this is so clear, as needeth no further to be insisted upon. And

yet,

yet, if in things so clear, it were fit to speak of more or less clear, in our present Cause, it is the more clear on our part, because the Possession of *Bohemia* is setled with the *Emperor*. For though it be true, that, *Non datur Compensatio Injuriarum*; yet were there somewhat more Colour to detain the *Palatinate*, as in the nature of a Recovery, in Value or Compensation, if *Bohemia* had been lost, or were still the Stage of *War*. Of this therefore I speak no more. As for the Title of *Proscription* or *Forfeiture*, wherein the *Emperor* (upon the matter) hath been Judge and Party, and hath justiced himself, *God* forbid but that it should well endure an Appeal to a *War*. For certainly the *Court* of *Heaven*, is as well a *Chancery*, to save and debar Forfeitures, as a *Court* of *Common Law* to decide Rights; And there would be work enough in *Germany*, *Italy*, and other Parts, if Imperial Forfeitures should go for good Titles.

Thus much for the first Ground of *War* with *Spain*, being in the Nature of a *Plaint*, for the *Recovery of the Palatinate*; Omitting here that which might be the Seed of a larger Discourse, and is verified by a number of Examples; That whatsoever is gained by an Abusive Treaty, ought to be restored *in Integrum*. As we see the daily Experience of this in *Civil Pleas*; For the Images of great things are best seen contracted into small Glasses; We see (I say) that all *Pretorian Courts*, if any of the *Parties* be entertained or laid asleep, under pretence of Arbiterment or Accord, and that the other *Party* during that time, doth cautelously get the start and advantage at *Common Law*, though it be to Judgement and Execution; Yet the *Pretorian Court* will set back all things *in statu quo prius*, no respect had to such Eviction or Disposition. Lastly, let there be no mistaking; As if when I speak of a *War* for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, I meant, that it must be in *linea recta*, upon that Place: For look into *Jus faciale*, and all Examples, and it will be found to be without scruple; That after a Legation *ad Res repetendas*, and a Refusal, and a Denunciation or Indiction of a *War*, the *War* is no more confined to the Place of the Quarrel, but is left at large, and to choice, (as to the particular conducing Designs,) as Opportunities and Advantages shall invite.

To proceed therefore to the second Ground of a *War* with *Spain*; We have set it down to be, *A just Fear of the Subversion of our Civil Estate*. So then, the *War* is not for the *Palatinate* onely, but for *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, our *King*, our *Prince*, our *Nation*, all that we have. Wherein two things are to be proved. The one, that a *Just Fear*, (without an Actual Invasion or Offence) is a sufficient Ground of a *War*, and in the Nature of a true *Defensive*; The other, that we have towards *Spain* Cause of *Just Fear*; I say *Just Fear*; For as the *Civillians* do well define, that the Legal *Fear* is, *Justus Metus qui cadit in constantem Virum*, in private Causes; So there is, *Justus Metus qui cadit in constantem Senatum, in causa publica*; Not out of Umbrages, light Jealousies, Apprehensions a far off; But out of clear Foresight of imminent Danger.

Concerning the former *Proposition*, it is good to hear what time saith.

ſaith. *Thucydides*, in his *Inducement* to his Story of the great *War* of *Peloponneſus*, ſets down in plain Terms, that the true Cauſe of that *War* was; *The Overgrowing Greatneſs of the* Athenians, *and the fear that the* Lacedemonians *ſtood in thereby*; And doth not doubt to call it, *A Neceſſity impoſed upon the* Lacedemonians *of a War*. Which are the Words of a meer *Defenſive*: Adding, that the other Cauſes were but ſpecious and Popular. *Veriſſimam quidem, ſed minime ſermone celebratam, arbitror exitiſſe Belli Cauſam, Athenienſes magnos effectos, & Lacedemoniis formidoloſos, neceſſitatem illis impoſuiſſe bellandi: Quæ autem propalam ferebantur utrinque Cauſæ, iſtæ fuerunt, &c.* The trueſt Cauſe of this War, though leaſt voiced, I conceive to have been this; That the *Athenians* being grown great, to the terrour of the *Lacedemonians*, did impoſe upon them a Neceſſity of a War: But the Cauſes that went abroad in ſpeech were theſe, *&c.* *Sulpitius Galba*, Conſul, when he perſwaded the *Romans* to a Preventive *War*, with the latter *Philip* King of *Macedon*, in regard of the great Preparations which *Philip* had then on foot, and his Deſigns to ruine ſome of the Confederates of the *Romans*, confidently ſaith; That they who took that for an *Offenſive War*, underſtood not the ſtate of the Queſtion. *Ignorare videmini mihi, (Quirites) non utrum bellum an pacem habeatis, vos conſuli, (neque enim liberum id vobis permittet Philippus, qui terra marique ingens bellum molitur,) ſed utrum in Macedoniam legiones tranſportatis, an hoſtem in Italiam recipiatis.* Ye ſeem to me (ye *Romans*,) not to underſtand, that the Conſultation before you, is not, whether you ſhall have War or Peace, (for *Philip* will take order you ſhall be no Chooſers, who prepareth a mighty War both by Land and Sea;) but whether you ſhall tranſport the War into *Macedon*, or receive it into *Italy*. *Antiochus*, when he incited *Pruſias* King of *Bythinia*, (at that time in League with the *Romans*) to joyn with him in *War* againſt them, ſetteth before him, a juſt Fear of the over-ſpreading Greatneſs of the *Romans*, comparing it to a Fire that continually took, and ſpread from Kingdom to Kingdom: *Venire Romanos ad omnia Regna tollenda, ut nullam uſquam orbis terrarum niſi Romanum imperium eſſet; Philippum & Nabin expugnatos, ſe tertium peti; Ut quiſque proximus ab oppreſſo ſit, per omnes velut continens incendium pervaſurum.* That the Romans came to pull down all Kingdoms, and to make the State of *Rome* an univerſal Monarchy; That *Philip* and *Nabis* were already ruinated, and now was his turn to be aſſailed: So that as every State lay next to the other that was oppreſſed, ſo the Fire perpetually grazed. Wherein it is well to be noted, that towards ambitious States (which are noted to aſpire to great *Monarchies*, and to ſeek upon all occaſions to enlarge their Dominions,) *Creſcunt Argumenta juſti Metus*: All particular fears do grow and multiply out of the Contemplation of the general Courſes and Practice of ſuch States. Therefore in Deliberations of *War* againſt the *Turk*, it hath been often, with great judgement, maintained; That *Chriſtian Princes* and *States* have always a ſufficient Ground of *Invaſive War* againſt the Enemy: Not

for *Cause* of *Religion*, but upon a Just *Fear*; For as much as it is a Fundamental Law in the *Turkish Empire*, that they may (without any other provocation,) make War upon *Christendom*, for the *Propagation* of their *Law*; So that there lieth upon the *Christians* a perpetual *Fear* of a *War*, (hanging over their heads,) from them: And therefore they may at all times, (as they think good) be upon the Prevention. *Demosthenes* exposeth to scorn *Wars* which are not Preventive, comparing those that make them, to Countrey Fellows in a Fencing-School, that never ward till the Blow be past: *Ut Barbari Pugiles dimicare solent, ita vos bellum geritis cum Philippo, Ex his enim is qui ictus est, ictui semper inhæret: Quod si cum alibi verberes, illo manus transfert; Idum autem depellere, aut prospicere, neque scit, neque vult.* As Country Fellows use to do when they play at Wasters, such a kinde of War do you (*Athenians*) make with *Philip*; For with them he that gets a blow, streight falleth to ward when the blow is past, And if you strike him in another place, thither goes his hand likewise: But to put by, or foresee a blow, they neither have the skill, nor the will.

Clinias the *Candian*, (in *Plato*) speaks desperately and wildly; As if there were no such thing as *Peace* between *Nations*; But that every *Nation* expects but his Advantage to War upon another. But yet in that Excess of Speech, there is thus much that may have a Civil Construction; Namely, that every State ought to stand upon his Guard, and rather prevent, than be prevented. His words are; *Quam rem fere vocant Pacem, nudum & inane Nomen est; Revera autem omnibus, adversus omnes Civitates bellum sempiternum perdurat*: That which Men, for the most part, call *Peace*, is but a naked and empty Name; But the truth is, that there is ever between all Estates a secret War. I know well this Speech is the *Objection*, and not the *Decision*, and that it is after refuted; But yet (as I said before) it bears thus much of Truth, That if that general Malignity, and Pre-disposition to *War*, (which he untruly figureth to be in all Nations,) be produced and extended to a just Fear of being oppressed, then it is no more a true *Peace*, but a Name of a *Peace*.

As for the Opinion of *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, it demands not so much towards a *War*, as a just Fear; but rather cometh near the opinion of *Clinias*; As if there were ever amongst Nations a Brooding of a *War*, and that there is no sure League but Impuissance to do hurt. For he, in the Treaty of peace with the *Lacedemonians*, speaketh plain language, Telling them, there could be no true and secure Peace, except the *Lacedemonians* yielded to those things, which being granted, it would be no longer in their power to hurt the *Athenians*, though they would. And to say truth, if one mark it well, this was in all Memory, the Main Piece of Wisdom, in strong and prudent Counsels; To be in perpetual watch, that the *States* about them, should neither by Approach, nor by Encrease of Dominion, nor by Ruining Confederates, nor by Blocking of Trade, nor by any the like means, have it in their power

to

to hurt or annoy the *States* they ſerve; And whenſoever any ſuch Cauſe did but appear, ſtraightways to buy it out with a War, and never take up Peace at Credit, and upon Intereſt. It is ſo memorable, and it is yet as freſh, as if it were done yeſterday, how that *Triumvirate* of *Kings*, (*Henry* the Eighth of *England*, *Francis* the Firſt of *France*, and *Charles* the Fifth, Emperour, and King of *Spain*,) were in their times ſo provident, as ſcarce a Palme of Ground could bee gotten by either of the Three, but that the other Two would be ſure to do their beſt to ſet the Ballance of *Europe* upright again.

And the like diligence was uſed in the Age before, by that League, (wherewith *Guicciardine* beginneth his Story, and maketh it (as it were) the Kalendar of the good dayes of *Italy*,) which was contracted between *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, *Lorenzo* of *Medici*, Potentate of *Florence*, and *Lodovico Zforza* Duke of *Milan*, deſigned chiefly againſt the growing Power of the *Venetians*; But yet ſo, as the Confederates had a perpetual eye one upon another, that none of them ſhould overtop. To conclude therefore, howſoever ſome School-men, (otherwiſe Reverend Men, yet fitter to guide Pen knives than Swords,) ſeem preciſely to ſtand upon it; That every *Offenſive War* muſt be *Ultio*; A *Revenge*, that preſuppoſeth a precedent Aſſault or Injury; yet neither do they deſcend to this Point, (which we now handle) of a *Juſt Fear*; Neither are they of Authority to judge this Queſtion againſt all the Preſidents of time. For certainly, as long as Men are Men, (the Sons, as the Poets allude, of *Prometheus*, and not of *Epimetheus*,) and as long as Reaſon is Reaſon, A *Juſt Fear* will be a Juſt Cauſe of a Preventive *War*; But eſpecially, if it be Part of the Caſe, that there be a *Nation* that is manifeſtly detected, to aſpire to *Monarchy*, and new Acqueſts; Then other *States* (aſſuredly) cannot be juſtly accuſed for not ſtaying for the firſt Blow; Or for not accepting *Poliphemus* Courteſie, to be the laſt that ſhall be eaten up.

Nay, I obſerve further, that in that paſſage of *Plato*, which I cited before, (and even in the *Tenet* of that Perſon, that beareth the Reſolving Part, and not the Objecting Part,) a *Juſt Fear* is juſtified for a Cauſe of an *Invaſive War*, though the ſame *Fear* proceed not from the fault of the Foreign State, to be aſſailed. For it is there inſinuated, That if a State, out of the diſtemper of their own Body, do fear Sedition and Inteſtine Troubles to break out amongſt themſelves, they may diſcharge their own ill Humours, upon a Foreign *War*, for a Cure. And this kinde of Cure was tendred by *Jaſper Coligni* Admiral of *France*, to *Charles* the Nineth, the *French King*, when by a vive and forcible Perſwaſion, he moved him to a War upon *Flanders*, for the better Extinguiſhment of the *Civil Wars* of *France*; But neither was that Counſel proſperous; Neither will I maintain that Poſition; For I will never ſet *Politiques* againſt *Ethicks*; Eſpecially for that true *Ethicks* are but as a Hand-maid to *Divinity* and *Religion*. Surely, Saint *Thomas*, (who had the largeſt heart of the

School Divines, (bendeth chiefly his stile against the depraved Passions, which reign in making *Wars*, speaking out of St. *Augustine*; *Nocendi Cupiditas, ulciscendi Credulitas, implacatus & implacabilis Animus, Feritas Rebellandi, Libido Dominandi, & si quæ sunt similia, hæc sunt quæ in bellis jure culpantur.* And the same St. *Thomas* in his own Text, defining of the just Causes of a *War*, doth leave it upon very general Terms; *Requiritur ad Bellum Causa justa, ut scilicet illi qui impugnantur, propter aliquam culpam, Impugnationem mereantur*; For *Impugnatio Culpæ*, is a far more general word than *Ultio Injuriæ*. And thus much for the first *Proposition*, of the *Second Ground* of a *War* with *Spain*: Namely, that *A just Fear is a just Cause of a War*; And that *A Preventive War is a true Defensive.*

The Second, or *Minor Proposition* was this, That this *Kingdom* hath Cause of *Just Fear* of Overthrow from *Spain*. Wherein it is true, that *Fears* are ever seen in dimmer lights, than *Facts*. And on the other side, *Fears* use (many times) to be represented in such an Imaginary fashion, as they rather dazle Mens eyes, than open them. And therefore I will speak in that manner which the Subject requires; That is, probably, and moderately, and briefly. Neither will I deduce these *Fears* to present Occurrences; but point onely at general Grounds, leaving the rest to more secret Counsels.

Is it nothing, that the *Crown* of *Spain* hath enlarged the Bounds thereof, within this last sixscore years, much more than the *Ottomans*? I speak not of Matches, or Unions, but of Arms, Occupations, Invasions. *Granada*, *Naples*, *Milan*, *Portugal*, the *East* and *West Indies*; All these are actual Additions to that *Crown*. They had a minde to *French Britain*, the lower Part of *Piccardi*, and *Piemont*; but they have let fall their Bit. They have to this day, such a hovering possession of the *Valteline*; as an Hobby hath over a Lark; And the *Palatinate* is in their Tallons: So that nothing is more manifest, than that this *Nation* of *Spain* runs a race (still) of *Empire*, when all other *States* of *Christendom* stand in effect at a stay. Look then a little further into the Titles, whereby they have acquired, and do now hold these new Portions of their *Crown*, and you will finde them of so many varieties, and such natures, (to speak with due respect,) as may appear to be easily minted, and such as can hardly at any time be wanting. And therefore so many new Conquests and Purchases, so many Strokes of the Larum-Bell of *Fear*, and Awaking, to other *Nations*, and the Facility of the Titles, which hand over head have served their turn, doth ring the Peal so much the sharper, and the louder.

Shall we descend from their general Disposition, to enlarge their Dominions, to their particular Disposition, and Eye of Appetite, which they have had towards us; They have now twice sought to impatronize themselves of this Kingdom of *England*; once by Marriage with Queen *Mary*; And the second by *Conquest* in 88. when their Forces by Sea and Land, were not inferiour to those they have now. And at that time in 88. the Counsel and Design of *Spain*, was, by many Advertisements, revealed and laid open to be;

be; That they found the *War* upon the *Low Countreys*, ſo churliſh and longſome, as they grew then to a Reſolution; That as long as *England* ſtood in ſtate to ſuccour thoſe *Countreys*, they ſhould but conſume themſelves in an endleſs *War*; And therefore there was no other way, but to aſſail and depreſs *England*, which was as a Back of Steel to the *Flemmings*. And who can warrant (I pray) that the ſame Counſel and Deſign will not return again? So as we are in a ſtrange *Dilemma* of Danger: For if we ſuffer the *Flemmings* to be ruined, they are our Cut-work, and we ſhall remain Naked and Diſmantled: If we ſuccour them ſtrongly, (as is fit) and ſet them upon their feet, and do not withal weaken *Spain*, we hazard to change the Scene of the *War*, and to turn it upon *Ireland* or *England*: Like unto *Rheums* and *Deſluxions*; which, if you apply a ſtrong Repercuſſive to the Place affected, and do not take away the Cauſe of the Diſeaſe, will ſhift, and fall ſtraightways to another Joynt, or Place. They have alſo twice invaded *Ireland*: Once under the *Popes Banner*, when they were defeated by the Lord *Grey*; And after in their own name, when they were defeated by the Lord *Mountjoy*. So as let this ſuffice for a Taſte of their Diſpoſition towards us. But it will be ſaid: This is an Almanack for the old Year; Since 88. all hath been well, *Spain* hath not aſſailed this Kingdom, howſoever by two ſeveral Invaſions from us mightily provoked. It is true, but then conſider, that immediately after 88. they were embroyled, for a great time, in the Protection of the League of *France*, whereby they had their hands full; After being brought extream low, by their vaſt and continual Embracements, they were enforced to be quiet, that they might take breath, and do Reparations upon their former Waſtes. But now of late Things ſeem to come apace to their former Eſtate. Nay with far greater Diſadvantage to us. For now that they have almoſt continued, and (as it were) arched their Dominions, from *Milan*, by the *Valtoline*, and *Palatinate*, to the *Low-Countreys*; We ſee how they thirſt and pant after the utter Ruine of thoſe *States*; Having in contempt almoſt the *German Nation*, and doubting little oppoſition, except it come from *England*: Whereby either we muſt ſuffer the *Dutch* to be ruined, to our own manifeſt prejudice; Or put it upon the hazard, I ſpake of before, that *Spain* will caſt at the faireſt. Neither is the point of *Internal Danger*, which groweth upon us, to be forgotten; This; That the Party of the *Papiſts* in *England* are become more knotted, both in Dependance towards *Spain*, and amongſt themſelves, than they have been. Wherein again comes to be remembred the Caſe of 88. For then alſo it appeared by divers ſecret Letters, that the Deſign of *Spain* was, (for ſome years before the Invaſion attempted) to prepare a Party in this *Kingdom*, to adhere to the *Foreigner* at his coming. And they bragged, that they doubted not, but to abuſe and lay aſleep the *Queen* and *Council* of *England*, as to have any fear of the Party of *Papiſts* here; For that they knew (they ſaid) the *State* would but caſt the eye, and look about, to ſee whether there were any Eminent Head of that Party, under whom it might unite it ſelf; And finding none worth

the

the thinking on, the *State* would rest secure, and take no apprehension; Whereas they meant, (they said) to take a course, to deal with the People, and particulars, by Reconcilements, and Confessions, and Secret Promises, and cared not for any Head of Party. And this was the true reason, why after that the *Seminaries* began to blossom, and to make Missions into *England*, (which was about the three and twentieth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, at what time also was the first suspition of the *Spanish Invasion*) then, and not before, grew the sharp and severe Laws to be made against the Papists. And therefore the Papists may do well, to change their thanks; And whereas they thank *Spain* for their Favours, to thank them for their Perils and Miseries, if they should fall upon them: For that nothing ever made their Case so ill, as the Doubt of the Greatness of *Spain*; which adding Reason of *State*, to Matter of Conscience and Religion, did whet the *Laws* against them. And this Case also seemeth (in some sort) to return again at this time; except the Clemency of his *Majesty*, and the *State*, do superabound: As, for my part, I do wish it should; And that the Proceedings towards them, may rather tend to Security, and Providence, and Point of State, than to Persecution for Religion. But to conclude; These Things briefly touched, may serve, as in a Subject Conjectural, and Future, for to represent, how just Cause of *Fear* this *Kingdom* may have towards *Spain*: Omitting (as I said before) all present, and more secret Occurrences.

The third Ground of a *War* with *Spain*, I have set down to be; *A Just Fear of the Subversion of our Church and Religion.* Which needeth little Speech: For if this *War* be a *Defensive*, (as I have proved it to be,) no Man will doubt; That a *Defensive War*, against a Forcigner for *Religion*, is lawful. Of an *Offensive War* there is more Dispute: And yet in that instance of the *War* for the *Holy Land*, and *Sepulchre*, I do wonder sometimes, that the *School-Men* want words to defend that, which St. *Bernard* wanted words to commend. But I, that in this little Extract of a Treatise, do omit things necessary, am not to handle things unnecessary. No man, I say, will doubt, but if the *Pope*, or *King* of *Spain*, would demand of us to forsake our *Religion*, upon pain of a *War*, it were as unjust a Demand, as the *Persians* made to the *Grecians* of *Land* and *Water*; Or the *Ammonites* to the *Israelites* of their *Right Eyes*. And we see all the *Heathen* did stile their *Defensive Wars*, *Pro Aris & Focis*; Placing their Altars before their Hearths. So that it is in vain of this to speak further. Onely this is true; That the *Fear* of the *Subversion* of our *Religion* from *Spain*, is the more just, for that all other *Catholick Princes* and *States*, content and contain themselves, to maintain their *Religion* within their own Dominions, and meddle not with the Subjects of other *States*; Whereas the Practice of *Spain* hath been, both in *Charles* the Fifth's time, and in the time of the *League* in *France*, by *War*; And now with us, by Conditions of Treaty, to intermeddle with *Foreign States*, and to declare themselves Protectors General, of the

the Party of *Catholicks*, through the World. As if the Crown of *Spain* had a little of this; That they would plant the *Popes Laws* by *Arms*, as the *Ottomans* do the *Law* of *Mahomet*. Thus much concerning the firſt main Point of *Juſtifying the Quarrel*; if the *King* ſhall enter into a *War*; For this that I have ſaid, and all that followeth to be ſaid, is but to ſhew what he may do.

The Second main Part, of that I have propounded to ſpeak of, is the *Ballance of Forces between* Spain *and us*. And this alſo tendeth to no more, but what the *King* may do. For *what he may do*, s of two kindes: What he may do as *Juſt*; And what he may do as *Poſſible*. Of the one I have already ſpoken; Of the other I am now to ſpeak. I ſaid, *Spain* was no ſuch *Giant*; And yet if he were a *Giant*, it will be, but as it was between *David* and *Goliah*; for *God is on our ſide*. But to leave all Arguments that are Supernatural, and to ſpeak in an Humane and Politick Senſe; I am led to think that *Spain* is no Over-match for *England*, by that which leadeth all Men; That is, *Experience*, and *Reaſon*. And with *Experience* I will begin; For there all *Reaſon* beginneth.

Is it Fortune, (ſhall we think,) that in all Actions of *War* or Arms, great and ſmall, which have happened theſe many years, ever ſince *Spain* and *England* have had any thing to debate one with the other, the *Engliſh*, upon all Encounters, have perpetually come off with honour, and the better? It is not fortune ſure; She is not ſo conſtant. There is ſomewhat in the *Nation*, and Natural Courage of the People, or ſome ſuch thing. I will make a brief Liſt of the Particulars themſelves, in an Hiſtorical Truth, no ways ſtrowted, nor made greater by Language. This were a fit Speech, (you will ſay,) for a *General*, in the Head of an Army, when they were going to Battel; Yes; And it is no leſs fit Speech, to be ſpoken in the Head of a Council, upon a Deliberation of Entrance into a *War*. Neither ſpeak I this to diſparage the *Spaniſh Nation*, whom I take to be of the beſt Soldiers in *Europe*. But that ſorteth to our honour, if we ſtill have had the better hand.

In the year 1578. was that famous *Lammas Day*, which buried the Reputation of *Don Ihuan d' Auſtria*, himſelf not ſurviving long after. *Don Ihuan*, being ſuperiour in Forces, aſſiſted by the Prince of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, *Manſell*, and other the beſt Commanders of *Spain*, confident of Victory, charged the Army of the *States* near *Rimenant*, bravely and furiouſly at the firſt; but after a Fight maintained by the ſpace of a whole day, was repulſed and forced to a Retreat, with great ſlaughter of his men, and the Courſe of his further Enterprizes was wholly arreſted; And this chiefly by the Proweſs and Vertue of the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Troops, under the Conduct of Sir *John Norris*, and Sir *Robert Stuart*, Colonels. Which Troops came to the Army but the day before, harraſed with a long and weariſom march; and (as it is left for a Memorable Circumſtance in all Stories,) the Souldiers, being more ſenſible of a little Heat of the Sun, than any cold

Fear

Fear of Death, cast away their Armour and Garments from them, and fought in their Shirts: And, as it was generally conceived, had it not been that the Count of *Bossu* was slack in charging the *Spaniards*, upon their Retreat, this Fight had sorted to an absolute Defeat. But it was enough to chastise *Don Ihuan*, for his insidious Treaty of Peace, wherewith he had abused the *States* at his first coming. And the Fortune of the day, (besides the Testimony of all Stories,) may be the better ascribed to the Service of the *English* and *Scottish*, by comparison of this Charge near *Rimenant*, (where the *English* and *Scottish*, in great numbers came in action,) with the like Charge given by *Don Ihuan*, half a year before at *Glembours*, where the Success was contrary; There being at that time in the Army, but a Handful of *English* and *Scottish*, and they put in disarray by the Horsemen, of their own Fellows.

The first Dart of *War* which was thrown from *Spain*, or *Rome*, upon the Realm of *Ireland*, was in the year 1580. For the Design of *Stukeley* blew over into *Africk*; And the Attempt of *Sanders*, and *Fitz-Maurice*, had a spice of Madness. In that year, *Ireland* was invaded by *Spanish* and *Italian* Forces, under the *Popes* Banner, and the Conduct of St. *Josepho*, to the number of seven hundred, or better, which landed at *Smerwick* in *Kerey*. A poor number it was, to conquer *Ireland* to the *Popes* use; For their Design was no less: But withal they brought Arms for five thousand men above their own Company, intending to arm so many of the *Rebels* of *Ireland*: And their purpose was, to fortifie in some strong Place of the wilde and desolate Countrey, and there to nestle till greater Succours came; They being hastened unto this Enterprise, upon a special Reason of State, not proper to the Enterprise it self; Which was, by the Invasion of *Ireland*, and the noise thereof, to trouble the *Council* of *England*, and to make a diversion of certain Aids that then were preparing from hence for the *Low-Countreys*. They chose a place, where they erected a Fort, which they called *The Fort del Or*; And from thence they bolted like Beasts of the Forest, sometimes into the Woods and Fastnesses, and sometimes back again to their Den. Soon after Siege was laid to the Fort, by the Lord *Gray*, then Deputy, with a smaller number than those were within the Fort; Venturously indeed; But haste was made to attache them before the *Rebels* came in to them. After the siege of four days onely, and two or three Sallies, with loss on their part, they that should have made good the Fort for some moneths, till new Succours came from *Spain*, or at least from the Rebels of *Ireland*, yielded up themselves without Conditions, at the end of those four days. And for that there were not in the *English* Army enough to keep every man a Prisoner; And for that also the *Deputy* expected instantly to be assailed by the Rebels; And again, there were no Barques to throw them into, and send them away by Sea, they were all put to the sword; With which Queen *Elizabeth* was afterwards much displeased.

In the year 1582. was that Memorable *Retreat* of *Gaunt*; Than the which there hath not been an Exploit of *War* more celebrated.

For

For in the true judgement of Men of *War*, Honourable Retreats are no ways inferior to brave Charges; As having leſs of Fortune, more of Diſcipline, and as much of Valour. There were to the number of three hundred Horſe, and as many thouſand Foot *Engliſh*, (Commanded by Sir *John Norris*,) charged by the Prince of *Parma*, coming upon them with ſeven thouſand Horſe; Beſides that, the whole Army of *Spaniards* was ready to march on. Nevertheleſs Sir *John Norris* maintained a Retreat without Diſarray, by the ſpace of ſome miles, (part of the way Champagne) unto the City of *Gaunt*, with leſs loſs of Men than the Enemy: The *Duke* of *Anjou*, and the Prince of *Aurange*, beholding this noble Action from the Walls of *Gaunt*, as in a Theatre, with great Admiration.

In the year 1585. followed the Proſperous *Expedition* of *Drake*, and *Carliſle*, into the *Weſt-Indies*. In the which, I ſet aſide the Taking of St. *Jago*, and St. *Domingo* in *Hiſpaniola*, as Surprizes, rather than Encounters. But that of *Cartagena*, where the *Spaniards* had warning of our coming, and had put themſelves in their full ſtrength, was one of the hotteſt Services, and moſt dangerous Aſſaults, that hath been known. For the Acceſs to the Town, was onely by a Neck of Land, between the Sea on the one part, and the Harbour Water, or Inner Sea, on the other; Fortified clean over with a ſtrong Rampier and Barracado; So as upon the Aſcent of our Men, they had both great Ordnance and ſmall Shot, that thundred and ſhowred upon them, from the Rampier in front, and from the Galleys that lay at Sea in flank. And yet they forced the Paſſage, and wan the Town, being likewiſe very well manned. As for the *Expedition* of Sir *Francis Drake*, in the year 1587. for the deſtroying of the *Spaniſh* Shipping, and Proviſion upon their own Coaſt; As I cannot ſay, that there intervened in that Enterprize, any ſharp Fight or Encounter; So nevertheleſs, it did ſtrangely diſcover, either that *Spain* is very weak at home, or very ſlow to move; When they ſuffered a ſmall Fleet of *Engliſh* to make an hoſtile Invaſion, or Incurſion, upon their Havens and Roads, from *Cadez* to *Capa Sacra*, and thence to *Caſcais*; And to fire, ſink, and carry away, at the leaſt, ten thouſand Tun of their great Shipping, beſides fifty or ſixty of their ſmaller Veſſels: And that in the ſight, and under the favour of their *Forts*; And almoſt under the Eye of their great *Admiral*, (the beſt *Commander* of *Spain* by Sea,) the Marquis *De Santa Cruz*, without ever being diſputed with by any fight of importance. I remember *Drake*, in the vaunting ſtile of a Souldier, would call this Enterprize, *The Cingeing of the King of* Spains *Beard*.

The Enterprize of *Eighty Eight* deſerveth to be ſtood upon a little more fully, being a Miracle of Time. There armed from *Spain* in the year 1588. the greateſt *Navy* that ever ſwam upon the Sea. For though there have been far greater Fleets for number, yet for the Bulk and Building of the Ships, with the Furniture of great Ordnance and Proviſions, never the like. The Deſign was to make, not an Invaſion onely, but an utter Conqueſt of this Kingdom. The number of Veſſels were one hundred and

thirty, whereof Galliasses and Gallions seventy two, goodly Ships like floating Towers, or Castles, manned with Thirty thousand Souldiers and Mariners. This *Navy* was the Preparation of five whole years at the least. It bare it self also upon Divine Assistance; For it received special Blessing from Pope *Sixtus*, and was assigned as an *Apostolical Mission*, for the Reducement of this *Kingdom* to the obedience of the *See* of *Rome*. And in further token of this holy Warfare, there were amongst the rest of these Ships, Twelve, called by the name of the *Twelve Apostles*. But it was truely conceived, that this Kingdom of *England* could never be over-whelmed, except the Land-Waters came in to the Sea-Tides. Therefore was there also in readiness, in *Flanders*, a mighty strong Army of Land-Forces, to the number of Fifty thousand veterane Souldiers, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Parma*, the best Commander, next the French King *Henry* the Fourth, of his time. These were designed to joyn with the Forces at Sea; There being prepared a number of Flat-bottom'd Boats, to transport the Land-Forces, under the Wing and Protection of the Great *Navy*. For they made no account, but that the *Navy* should be absolute Master of the Seas. Against these Forces, there were prepared, on our part, to the number of near one hundred Ships; Not so great of Bulk indeed, but of a more nimble Motion, and more serviceable; Besides a less Fleet of 30 Ships, for the Custody of the Narrow Seas. There were also in readiness at Land, two Armies, besides other Forces, to the number of Ten thousand, dispersed amongst the Coast Towns, in the Southern Parts. The two Armies were appointed; One of them consisting of Twenty five thousand Horse and Foot, for the Repulsing of the Enemy, at their landing; And the other of Twenty five thousand for safeguard and attendance about the Court, and the Queens Person. There were also other Dormant Musters of Souldiers, throughout all Parts of the Realm, that were put in readiness, but not drawn together. The two Armies were assigned to the Leading of two Generals, Noble Persons, but both of them rather Courtiers, and Assured to the State, than Martial Men; yet lined and assisted with Subordinate Commanders, of great Experience & Valor. The Fortune of the *War* made this Enterprize, at first, a Play at *Base*. The *Spanish Navy* set forth out of the *Groyne* in *May*, was dispersed and driven back by Weather. Our *Navy* set forth somewhat later out of *Plimouth*, and bare up towards the Coast of *Spain*, to have fought with the *Spanish Navy*; And partly by reason of contrary Winds, partly upon advertisement that the *Spaniards* were gone back, and upon some doubt also that they might pass towards the Coast of *England*, whilest we were seeking them afar off, returned likewise into *Plimouth*, about the middle of *July*. At that time, came more confident Advertisement, (though false,) not onely to the Lord *Admiral*, but to the *Court*, that the *Spaniards* could not possibly come forward that year; Whereupon our *Navy* was upon the point of Disbanding, and many of our Men gone ashore. At which very time, the *Invincible Armada*, (for so it was called

called in a *Spaniſh* Oſtentation throughout *Europe*) was diſcovered upon the Weſtern Coaſt. It was a kinde of Surprize; For that (as was ſaid) many of our men were gone to Land, and our Ships ready to depart. Nevertheleſs the Admiral, with ſuch Ships only as could ſuddenly be put in readineſs, made forth towards them: In ſo much as of one hundred Ships, there came ſcarce thirty to work. Howbeit with them, and ſuch as came dayly in, we ſet upon them, and gave them the chaſe. But the *Spaniards*, for want of Courage, (which they called *Commiſsion*) declined the Fight, caſting themſelves continually into Roundels, (their ſtrongeſt Ships walling in the reſt,) and in that manner they made a flying march towards *Callis*. Our Men, by the ſpace of five or ſix days, followed them cloſe, fought with them continually, made great ſlaughter of their Men, took two of their great Ships, and gave divers others of their Ships their Deaths wounds, whereof ſoon after they ſank and periſhed; And (in a word) diſtreſſed them almoſt in the nature of a Defeat; We our ſelves, in the mean time, receiving little or no hurt. Near *Callis* the *Spaniards* anchored, expecting their Land-Forces, which came not. It was afterwards alledged, that the Duke of *Parma* did artificially delay his Coming. But this was but an Invention and Pretenſion given out by the *Spaniards*; Partly upon a *Spaniſh* Envy againſt that Duke, being an *Italian*, and his Son a Competitor to *Portugal*; But chiefly, to ſave the Monſtrous Scorn and Diſreputation, which they and their Nation received, by the Succeſs of that Enterprize. Therefore their Colours and Excuſes (forſooth) were, that their General by Sea had a limitted Commiſſion, not to fight until the Land-Forces were come in to them: And that the Duke of *Parma* had particular Reaches, and Ends of his own, underhand, to croſs the Deſign. But it was both a ſtrange Commiſſion, and a ſtrange Obedience to a Commiſſion, for Men in the midſt of their own blood, and being ſo furiouſly aſſailed, to hold their hands, contrary to the Laws of Nature and Neceſſity. And as for the Duke of *Parma*, he was reaſonably well tempted to be true to that Enterprize, by no leſs Promiſe, than to be made a Feudatary, or Beneficiary *King* of *England*, under the Seignorie (in chief) of the *Pope*, and the Protection of the King of *Spain*. Beſides it appeared, that the Duke of *Parma* held his place long after, in the Favour and Truſt of the King of *Spain*, by the great Employments and Services that he performed in *France*: And again, it is manifeſt, that the Duke did his beſt to come down, and to put to Sea: The Truth was, that the *Spaniſh Navy*, upon thoſe proofs of Fight which they had with the *Engliſh*, finding how much hurt they received, and how little hurt they did, by reaſon of the Activity and low building of our Ships, and skill of our Sea-men; And being alſo commanded by a General of ſmall Courage and Experience; And having loſt, at the firſt, two of their braveſt Commanders at Sea, *Petro de Valdez*, and *Michael de Oquenda*; durſt not put it to a Battel at Sea, but ſet up their reſt wholly upon the Land-Enterprize. On the other ſide, the Tranſporting of the Land-forces failed in the very foundation. For

whereas the *Council* of *Spain* made full account, that their *Navy* ſhould be Maſter of the Sea, and therefore able to guard and protect the Veſſels of Tranſportation; When it fell out to the contrary, that the Great *Navy* was diſtreſſed, and had enough to do to ſave it ſelf; And again, that the *Hollanders* impounded their Land-forces with a brave Fleet of thirty Sayl, excellently well appointed; Things (I ſay) being in this ſtate, it came to paſs, that the Duke of *Parma* muſt have flown, if he would have come into *England*, for he could get neither Barque nor Mariner to put to Sea: Yet certain it is, that the Duke looked ſtill for the coming back of the *Armada*, even at that time, when they were wandring, and making their Perambulation upon the Northern Seas. But to return to the *Armada*, which we left anchored at *Callis*. From thence, (as Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was wont prettily to ſay) *they were ſuddenly driven away with Squibs*; For it was no more but a Stratagem of Fire-boats, Manleſs, and ſent upon them by the favour of the Wind, in the night time, that did put them in ſuch terrour, as they cut their Cables, and left their Anchors at Sea. After they hovered ſome two or three days about *Graveling*, and there again were beaten in a great Fight, at what time our ſecond Fleet, which kept the Narrow Seas, was come in and joyned to our main Fleet. Thereupon the *Spaniards* entring into further terrour, and finding alſo divers of their Ships every day to ſink, loſt all courage, and inſtead of coming up into the *Thames Mouth* for *London*, (as their Deſign was) fled on towards the *North*, to ſeek their Fortunes; Being ſtill chaced by the *Engliſh Navy* at the heels, until we were fain to give them over for want of Powder. The Breath of *Scotland* the *Spaniards* could not endure; Neither durſt they as Invaders land in *Ireland*; But onely ennobled ſome of the Coaſts thereof with ſhipwracks. And ſo going Northwards aloof, as long as they had any doubt of being purſued, at laſt when they were out of reach, they turned, and croſſed the Ocean to *Spain*, having loſt fourſcore of their Ships, and the greater part of their Men. And this was the End of that *Sea-Giant*, the *Invincible Armada*. Which having not ſo much as fired a Cottage of ours at Land, nor taken a Cock-boat of ours at Sea, wandred through the Wilderneſs of the Northern Seas; And according to the Curſe in the Scripture; *Came out againſt us one way, and fled before us ſeven ways*. Serving onely to make good the judgement of an Aſtrologer, long before given; *Octuageſimus Octavus Mirabilis Annus*; Or rather, to make good, (even to the aſtoniſhment of all Poſterity) the wonderful Judgements of God poured down, commonly, upon vaſt and proud Aſpirings.

In the year, that followed, of 1589. we gave the *Spaniards* no breath, but turned Challengers, and invaded the Main of *Spain*. In which Enterprize, although we failed in our End, which was to ſettle *Don Antonio* in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, yet a man ſhall hardly meet with an Action, that doth better reveal the great Secret of the Power of *Spain*: Which Power, well ſought into, will be found rather to conſiſt in a Veterane Army, (ſuch as upon ſeveral Occaſions

ſions and Pretenſions, they have ever had on foot, in one part or other of *Chriſtendom*, now the ſpace of (almoſt) ſixſcore years,) than in the ſtrength of their Dominions and Provinces. For what can be more ſtrange, or more to the Diſvaluation of the Power of the *Spaniard* upon the Continent, than that with an Army of Eleven thouſand *Engliſh*, Land-Souldiers, and a Fleet of Twenty ſix Ships of War, beſides ſome weak Veſſels for Tranſportation, we ſhould within the Hour-glaſs of two Moneths have won one Town of importance by *Eſcalada*; Battered and Aſſaulted another; Overthrown great Forces in the Field, and that upon the diſadvantage of a Bridge ſtrongly barracado'd, Landed the Army in three ſeveral places of his Kingdom; Marched ſeven days in the Heart of his Countreys; Lodged three nights in the Suburbs of his principal City; Beaten his Forces into the Gates thereof; Poſſeſſed two of his Frontire Forts; And come off, after all this, with ſmall loſs of Men, otherwiſe than by Sickneſs. And it was verily thought, that had it not been for four great Diſfavours of that Voyage; (That is to ſay; The failing in ſundry Proviſions that were promiſed, eſpecially of Cannons for Battery; The vain Hopes of *Don Antonio* concerning the People of the Countrey, to come in to his aid; The Diſappointment of the Fleet that was directed to come up the River of *Lisbon*; And laſtly, the Diſeaſes which ſpred in the Army, by reaſon of the Heat of the Seaſon, and of the Souldiers Miſrule in Diet;) the Enterprize had ſucceeded, and *Lisbon* had been carried. But howſoever, it makes proof to the World, that an Invaſion of a few *Engliſh* upon *Spain*, may have juſt hope of Victory, at leaſt of Paſport to depart ſafely.

In the year 1591. was that Memorable Fight, of an *Engliſh Ship* called *The Revenge*, under the Command of Sir *Richard Greenvil*; Memorable (I ſay) even beyond credit, and to the Height of ſome Heroical Fable. And though it were a Defeat, yet it exceeded a Victory; being like the Act of *Sampſon*, that killed more Men at his Death, than he had done in the time of all His Life. This *Ship* for the ſpace of fifteen hours, ſate like a Stag amongſt Hounds, at the bay, and was ſeiged, and fought with, in turn, by fifteen great Ships of *Spain*; part of a Navy of Fifty five Ships in all; The reſt like Abettors looking on afar off. And amongſt the fifteen Ships that fought, the great St. *Philippo* was one, a Ship of fifteen hundred Tun; Prince of the twelve *Sea Apoſtles*, which was right glad, when ſhe was ſhifted off from the *Revenge*. This brave Ship the *Revenge*, being Manned onely with two hundred (Souldiers and Mariners,) whereof eighty lay ſick, yet nevertheleſs after a Fight maintained (as was ſaid) of fifteen hours, and two Ships of the Enemy ſunk by her ſide; Beſides many more torn and battered, and great ſlaughter of men, never came to be entred, but was taken by Compoſition; The Enemies themſelves having in admiration the Vertue of the Commander, and the whole Tragedy of that Ship.

In the year 1596. was the Second *Invaſion*, that we made upon the Main Territories of *Spain*, proſperouſly atchiev'd by that Worthy and Famous, *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, in conſort with the Noble Earl

Earl of *Notingham*, that now liveth, then *Admiral*. This Journey was like Lightning; For in the ſpace of fourteen hours, the King of *Spains Navy* was deſtroyed, and the Town of *Cadez* taken. The *Navy* was no leſs than fifty tall Ships, beſides twenty Gallies to attend them. The Ships were ſtraightways beaten, and put to flight. with ſuch terrour, a the *Spainards*, in the end, were their own Executioners, and fired them all with their own hands. The Gallies, by the benefit of the Shores and Shallows, got away. The Town was a fair, ſtrong, well built, and rich City; Famous in Antiquity, and now moſt ſpoken of for this Diſaſter. It was mann'd with 4000 Soldiers Foot, and ſome 400 Horſe; It was ſacked, and burned, though great Clemency was uſed towards the Inhabitants. But that which is no leſs ſtrange than the ſudden Victory, is the great patience of the *Spaniards*; Who, though we ſtaid upon the place divers days, yet never offered us any play then, nor ever put us in ſuit, by any Action of Revenge, or Reparation, at any time after.

In the year 1600. was the Battel of *Newport* in the *Low Countries*, where the Armies of the *Arch-Duke*, and the *States*, tried it out by a juſt Battell. This was the only Battell, that was fought in thoſe Countries, theſe many years. For Battels in the *French Wars* have been frequent; But in the *Wars* of *Flanders*, rare, as the Nature of a Defenſive requireth. The Forces of both Armies were not much unequal: That of the *States* exceeded ſomewhat in number; but that again was recompenſed in the quality of the Souldiers; For thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Part were of the Flower of all the Forces. The *Arch Duke* was the Aſſailant, and the Preventer, and had the fruit of his Diligence and Celerity. For he had charged certain Companies of *Scottiſhmen*, to the number of eight hundred, ſent to make good a Paſſage, and thereby ſevered from the Body of the Army, and cut them all in pieces: For they like a brave Infantry, when they could make no honorable Retreat, and would take no diſhonorable Flight, made good the place with their Lives. This Enterance of the Battel did whet the Courage of the *Spaniards*, though it dulled their Swords; ſo as they came proudly on, confident to defeat the whole Army. The Encounter of the Main Battel, which followed, was a juſt Encounter, not haſtening to a ſudden Rout, nor the Fortune of the day reſting upon a few former Ranks, but fought out to the proof by ſeveral Squadrons, and not without variety of ſucceſs; *Stat pedi pes, denſuſque viro vir.* There fell out an Errour in the *Dutch* Army, by the over-haſty Medly of ſome of their Men, with the Enemies, which hindred the playing of their great Ordnance. But the End was, that the *Spaniards* were utterly defeated, and near five thouſand of their Men, in the Fight, and in the Execution, ſlain, and taken; Amongſt whom were many of the principal Perſons of their Army. The Honour of the Day was, both by the Enemy, and the *Dutch* themſelves, aſcribed unto the *Engliſh*; Of whom Sir *Francis Vere*, in a private *Commentary*, which he wrote of that Service, leaveth teſtified; That of fifteen hundred in number, (for they were no more) eight hundred were ſlain in the field; And (which is almoſt incredible in a day of Victory,) of the remaining

ing ſeven hundred, two onely Men came off unhurt. Amongſt the reſt Sir *Francis Vere* himſelf had the principal honour of the Service, unto whom the Prince of *Aurange* (as is ſaid) did tranſmit the Direction of the Army for that day. And in the next place, Sir *Horace Vere* his Brother, that now liveth, who was the principal in the Active part. The Service alſo, of Sir *Edward Cecill*, Sir *Iohn Ogle*, and divers other brave Gentlemen, was eminent.

In the year 1601. followed the Battel of *Kinſale* in *Ireland*. By this *Spaniſh Invaſion* of *Ireland*, (which was in *September* that year) a Man may gueſs, how long time a *Spaniard* will live in *Iriſh* ground; which is a matter of a quarter of a year, or four moneths at moſt. For they had all the Advantages in the world; And no man would have thought, (conſidering the ſmall Forces imployed againſt them) that they could have been driven out ſo ſoon. They obtained, without reſiſtance, in the end of *September*, the Town of *Kinſale*; A ſmall Gariſon of 150 *Engliſh*, leaving the Town upon the *Spaniards* approach, and the Townſmen receiving the *Foreiners* as friends. The number of *Spaniards* that put themſelves into *Kinſale*, was 2000 men, Soldiers of old Bands, under the command of *Don Iuan d'Aquila*, a man of good valour. The Town was ſtrong of it ſelf; neither wanted there any Induſtry to fortifie it on all parts, and make it tenable, according to the Skill and Diſcipline of *Spaniſh* Fortification. At that time the *Rebels* were proud, being encouraged upon former Succeſſes; For though the then Deputy, the Lord *Mountjoy*, and Sir *George Carew*, Preſident of *Munſter*, had performed divers good Services to their prejudice; Yet the Defeat they had given the *Engliſh* at *Blackwater*, not long before; And their Treaty (too muth to their honor) with the Earl of *Eſſex*, was yet freſh in their memory. The *Deputy* loſt no time, but made haſte to have recovered the Town, before new Succors came, and ſate down before it in *October*, and laid ſiege to it by the ſpace of three Winter Months, or more: During which time, Sallies were made by the *Spaniard*, but they were beaten in with loſs. In *January* came freſh Succors from *Spain*, to the number of 2000. more, under the Conduct of *Alonzo d'Ocampo*. Upon the Comforts of theſe Succors, *Tirone* and *Odonnel*, drew up their Forces together, to the number of 7000. beſides the *Spaniſh* Regiments, and took the field, reſolved to reſcue the Town, and give the *Engliſh* Battel. So here was the Caſe: An Army of *Engliſh*, of ſome 6000, waſted and tired with a long Winters Siege, engaged in the middeſt between an Army of a greater number than themſelves, freſh and in vigor, on the one ſide; and a Town ſtrong in fortification, and ſtrong in Men, on the other. But what was the Event? Thus in few words; That after the *Iriſh* and *Spaniſh* Forces had come on, and ſhewed themſelves in ſome Bravery, they were content to give the *Engliſh* the honor, as to charge them firſt; And when it came to the Charge, there appeared no other difference between the Valour of the *Iriſh Rebels*, and the *Spaniards*, but that the one ran away before they were charged, and the other ſtraight after. And again, the *Spaniards* that were in the Town, had ſo good Memories of their Loſſes, in their former Sallies, as the Confidence of an Army, which came for their de-

deliverance, could not draw them forth again. To conclude, there ſucceeded an abſolute Victory for the *Engliſh*, with the ſlaughter of above 2000 of the Enemy; The taking of nine Enſigns, whereof ſix *Spaniſh*; the taking of the *Spaniſh* General, *D'Ocampo*, Priſoner; And this with the loſs of ſo few of the *Engliſh*, as is ſcarce credible; Being (as hath been rather confidently, than credibly reported) but of one Man, the Cornet of Sir *Richard Gream*, though not a few hurt. There followed immediately after the Defeat, a preſent yielding up of the Town by Compoſition; And not onely ſo, but an Avoiding (by expreſs Articles of Treaty accorded) of all other *Spaniſh* Forces thorowout all *Ireland*, from the Places and Nests where they had ſetled themſelves, in greater ſtrength (as in regard of the natural Situation of the Places) than that was of *Kinſale*: Which were, *Caſtle haven*, *Baltimore*, and *Beere-haven*. Indeed they went away with ſound of Trumpet; For they did nothing but publiſh and trumpet all the Reproaches they could deviſe againſt the Iriſh Land and Nation; Inſomuch as *D' Aquila* ſaid in open Treaty; *That when the Devil, upon the Mount, did ſhew Chriſt all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and the Glory of them, he did not doubt, but the devil left out Ireland, and kept it for himſelf.*

I ceaſe here, omitting not a few other proofs of the *Engliſh* Valor and Fortune in their later times: As at the Suburbs of *Paris*, at the *Raveline*, at *Druſe* in *Normandy*, ſome Encounters in *Britanny*, and at *Oſtend*, and divers others; Partly becauſe ſome of them have not been proper Encounters between the *Spaniards* and the *Engliſh*; and partly becauſe others of them have not been of that greatneſs, as to have ſorted in company with the Particulars formerly recited. It is true, that amongſt all the late Adventures, the Voyage of Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *John Hawkins*, into the *Weſt-Indies*, was unfortunate; Yet in ſuch ſort, as it doth not break or interrupt our Preſcription; To have had the better of the *Spaniards* upon all Fights of late. For the Diſaſter of that Journey was cauſed chiefly by ſickneſs; As might well appear by the Deaths of both the Generals, (Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *John Hawkins*) of the ſame ſickneſs amongſt the reſt. The Land-Enterpriſe of *Panama*, was an ill meaſured and immature Counſel; for it was grounded upon a falſe account, that the Paſſages towards *Panama* were no better fortified, than *Drake* had left them. But yet, it ſorted not to any Fight of importance, but to a Retreat, after the *Engliſh* had proved the ſtrength of their firſt Fort, and had notice of the two other Forts beyond, by which they were to have marched. It is true, that in the Return of the *Engliſh* Fleet, they were ſet upon by *Avellaneda*, Admiral of 20 great great ſhips *Spaniſh*, our Fleet being but 14, full of ſick men, deprived of their two Generals at Sea, and having no pretence but to journey homewards: And yet the *Spaniards* did but ſalute them about the *Cape de los Corientes*, with ſome ſmall offer of Fight, and came off with loſs; Although it was ſuch a new thing for the *Spaniards* to receive ſo little hurt upon dealing with the *Engliſh*, as *Avellaneda* made great brags of it, for no greater matter, than the waiting upon the *Engliſh* afar off, from *Cape de los Corientes* to *Cape Antonio*; Which nevertheleſs, in the Language of a Souldier, and of a *Spaniard*, he called a *Chace*.

But

But before I proceed further, it is good to meet with an Objection, which if it be not removed, the Concluſion of *Experience*, from the time paſt, to the time preſent, will not be found and perfect. For it will be ſaid, that in the former times (whereof we have ſpoken) *Spain* was not ſo mighty as now it is; And *England* on the other ſide, was more afore-hand in all matters of Power. Therefore let us compare with indifferency, theſe Diſparities of times, and we ſhall plainly perceive, that they make for the advantage of *England* at this preſent time. And becauſe we will leſs wander in Generalities, we will fix the Compariſon to preciſe Times; Comparing the State of *Spain* and *England* in the year 88. with this preſent year that now runneth. In handling of this Point, I will not meddle with any Perſonal Compariſons, of the *Princes*, *Councellors*, and *Commanders* by Sea or Land, that were then, and that are now, in both Kingdoms, *Spain* and *England*; but onely reſt upon Real Points, for the true Ballancing of the *State*, of the *Forces*, and *Affairs* of both Times. And yet theſe Perſonal Compariſons I omit not, but that I could evidently ſhew, that even in theſe Perſonal Reſpects, the Ballance ſways on our part: But becauſe I would ſay nothing that may favour of a ſpirit of Flattery, or Cenſure, of the preſent Government.

Firſt therefore, it is certain, that *Spain* hath not now a foot of Ground in quiet poſſeſſion, more than it had in 88. As for the *Valtoline*, and the *Palatinate*, it is a Maxim in State, that all Countreys of new Acqueſt, till they be ſetled, are rather matters of Burthen, than Strength. On the other ſide, *England* hath *Scotland* united, & *Ireland* reduc'd to obedience, and planted, which are mighty augmentations.

Secondly, in 88. the Kingdom of *France*, able alone to counterpoize *Spain* it ſelf, (much more in conjunction) was torn with the Party of the League, which gave Law to their King, and depended wholly upon *Spain*. Now *France* is united under a valiant young King, generally obeyed, if he will himſelf; King of *Navarre* as well as of *France*; And that is no ways taken Priſoner, though he be tyed in a double chain of Alliance, with *Spain*.

Thirdly, in 88. there ſate in the *See* of *Rome*, a fierce thundering Fryer, that would ſet all at ſix and ſeven; Or at ſix and five, if you allude to his Name. And though he would after have turned his teeth upon *Spain*, yet he was taken order with before it came to that. Now there is aſcended to the Papacy, a Perſonage that came in by a chaſte Election, no ways obliged to the Party of the *Spaniards*; A man bred in Embaſſages and Affairs of State; That hath much of the Prince, and nothing of the Fryer; And one, that though he love the Chair of the Papacy well, yet he loveth the Carpet above the Chair; That is, *Italy*, and the Liberties thereof, well likewiſe.

Fourthly, in 88. the King of *Denmark* was a ſtranger to *England*, and rather inclined to *Spain*; Now the King is incorporated to the Blood of *England*, & Engaged in the Quarrel of the *Palatinate*. Then alſo *Venice*, *Savoy*, and the *Princes* and *Cities* of *Germany*, had but a dull Fear of the Greatneſs of *Spain*, upon a general Apprehenſion onely of the ſpreading and ambitious Deſigns of that *Nation*: Now that fear is ſharpned and pointed, by the *Spaniards* late Enterpriſes, upon the

Valtoline, and the *Palatinate*, which come nearer them.

Fiftly and laſtly, the *Dutch* (which is the *Spaniards* perpetual Duelliſt) hath now, at this preſent, five Ships to one, and the like Proportion in Treaſure and Wealth, to that they had in 88. Neither is it poſſible (whatſoever is given out) that the Coffers of *Spain* ſhould now be fuller, than they were in 88. For at that time *Spain* had no other Wars ſave thoſe of the *Low Countreys*, which were grown into an Ordinary: Now they have had coupled therewith, the Extraordinary of the *Valtoline*, and the *Palatinate*. And ſo I conclude my Anſwer to the Objection raiſed, touching the Difference of times; Not entring into more ſecret paſſages of State; But keeping that Character of Stile, whereof *Seneca* ſpeaketh, *Plus ſignificat quam loquitur*.

Here I would paſs over from Matter of *Experience*, were it not that I held it neceſſary, to diſcover a wonderful Erroneous obſervation that walketh about, and is commonly received, contrary to all the Account of Time, and Experience. It is, that the *Spaniard*, where he once getteth in, will ſeldom (or never) be got out again. But nothing is leſs true than this. Not long ſince they got footing at *Breſt*, and ſome other parts in *French Britain*, and after quitted them. They had *Calais*, *Ardes*, and *Amiens*, and rendred them, or were beaten out. They had ſince *Verſeilles*, & fairly left it. They had the other day the *Valtoline*, and now have put it in depoſite. What they will do with *Ormus*, which the *Perſian* hath taken from them, we ſhall ſee. So that to ſpeak truly of later Times, they have rather poched and offered at a Number of Enterprizes, than maintained any conſtantly, quite contrary to that idle Tradition. In more antient times (leaving their Purchaſes in *Africk*, which they after abandoned,) when their great Emperor *Charles* had claſped *Germany*, (almoſt) in his fiſt, he was forced in the end, to go from *Isburg*, (and as if it had been in a Maſque, by Torch-light,) and to quit every foot in *Germany* round that he had gotten; which I doubt not, will be the Hereditary Iſſue of this late Purchaſe of the *Palatinate*. And ſo I conclude the Ground, that I have to think, that *Spain* will be no Over-match to *Great Britain*, if his *Majeſty* ſhal enter into a *War*, out of *Experience*, & *Records* of time.

For Grounds of *Reaſon* they are many: I will extract the principal, and open them briefly, and (as it were) in the Bud. For *Situation*, I paſs it over; though it be no ſmall point: *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and our good Confederates the *United Provinces*, lie all in a plump together, not acceſſible but by Sea, or at leaſt by paſſing of great Rivers, which are Natural Fortifications. As for the Dominions of *Spain*, they are ſo ſcattered, as it yieldeth great choice of the Scenes of the War, and promiſeth ſlow Succours unto ſuch Part as ſhall be attempted. There be three main parts of *Military Puiſſance*; *Men*, *Money*, and *Confederates*. For *Men*, there are to be conſidered, *Valour*, and *Number*. Of *Valour* I ſpeak not: Take it from the Witneſſes that have been produced before: Yet the old obſervation is not untrue; That the *Spaniards Valour* lieth in the Eye of the Looker on; But the *Engliſh Valor* lieth about the Souldiers Heart. A *Valor* of Glory, and a *Valor* of Natural Courage, are two things. But let that paſs, and let us ſpeak of *Number*. *Spain* is a Nation thin ſown of People; Partly

by

by reaſon of the Sterility of the Soil; And partly becauſe their Natives are exhauſted by ſo many Employments, in ſuch vaſt Territories as they poſſeſs. So that it hath bin accounted a kind of Miracle, to ſee ten or twelve thouſand Native *Spaniards* in an Army. And it is certain, (as we have touched it a little before in paſſage) that the Secret of the Power of *Spain*, conſiſteth in a Veterane Army, compounded of Miſcellany Forces of all Nations, which for many years they have had on foot upon one occaſion or other: And if there ſhould happen the Misfortune of a Battel, it would be a long work to draw on Supplies. They tell a Tale of a *Spaniſh Ambaſſador*, that was brought to ſee the Treaſury of St. *Mark* at *Venice*, and ſtill he lookt down to the ground; And being asked why he ſo lookt down, ſaid; *He was looking to ſee whether their Treaſure had any Root, (ſo that if it were ſpent, it would grow again) as his Maſters had.* But howſoever it be of their Treaſure, certainly the Forces have ſcarce any Root; Or at leaſt ſuch a Root, as buddeth forth poorly & ſlowly. It is true, they have the *Wallons*, who are tall Souldiers; but that is but a Spot of Ground. But on the other ſide, there is not in the world again, ſuch a Spring and Seminary of brave Militar People, as is *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the *United Provinces*. So as if *Wars* ſhould mowe them down never ſo faſt, yet they may be ſuddenly ſupplyed, and come up again.

For *Money*, no doubt it is the principal Part of the Greatneſs of *Spain*; For by that they maintain a Veterane Army; And *Spain* is the onely State of *Europe*, that is a *Money grower*. But in this Part, of all others, is moſt to be conſidered, the tickliſh and brittle State of the Greatneſs of *Spain*. Their *Greatneſs* conſiſteth in their *Treaſure*; their *Treaſure* in their *Indies*; And their *Indies* (if it be well weighed) are indeed but an Acceſſion to ſuch, as are Maſters by Sea. So as this Axeltree whereupon their Greatneſs turneth, is ſoon cut in two, by any that ſhall be ſtronger than they by Sea. Herein therefore I refer me to the Opinions of all Men (Enemies, or whomſoever) whether that the Maritime Forces of *Great Britain*, and the *United Provinces*, be not able to beat the *Spainard* at Sea. For if that be ſo, the Links of that Chain whereby they hold their Greatneſs, are diſſolved. Now if it be ſaid, that admit the Caſe of *Spain* be ſuch, as we have made it, yet we ought to deſcend into our own Caſe, which we ſhall finde (perhaps) not to be in State, (for Treaſure) to enter into a *War* with *Spain*. To which I anſwer; I know no ſuch thing; The Mint beateth well; And the Pulſes of the Peoples Hearts beat well. But there is another Point that taketh away quite this Objection: For whereas *Wars* are generally Cauſes of *Poverty*, or Conſumption; on the contrary part, the ſpecial Nature of this *War* with *Spain*, (if it be made by Sea) is like to be a Lucrative and Reſtorative *War*. So that, if we go roundly on at the firſt, the *War* in continuance will find it ſelf. And therefore you muſt make a great difference between *Hercules* Labors by Land, and *Jaſons* Voyage by Sea for the Golden Fleece.

For *Confederates*, I will not take upon me the knowledge, how the Princes, States, and Councels of *Europe*, at this day, ſtand affected towards *Spain*; For that trencheth into the ſecret Occurents of the preſent

present Time, wherewith in all this Treatise I have forborn to meddle. But to speak of that which lieth open and in view: I see much Matter of Quarrel and Jealousie, but little of Amity and Trust towards *Spain*, almost in all other Estates. I see *France* is in competition with them, for three noble Portions of their Monarchy; *Navarre*, *Naples*, and *Millain*; And now freshly in difference with them about the *Valtoline*. I see once in 30 or 40 years cometh a *Pope*, that casteth his eye upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, to recover it to the Church: As it was in the minds of *Julius* 2. *Paulus* 4. and *Sixtus* 5. As for that great Body of *Germany*, I see they have greater reason to *confederate* themselves with the Kings of *France*, and *Great Britain*, or *Denmark*, for the liberty of the *Germane Nation*, and for the Expulsion of *Spanish* and foreign Forces, than they had in the years 1552. and 1553. At which time they contracted a League with *Henry* II. the *French King*, upon the same Articles, against *Charles* V. who had impatronized himself of a great part of *Germany*, through the discord of the *German Princes*, which himself had sowen and fomented, Which League at that time did the Deed, and drave out all the *Spaniards* out of that part of *Germany*; and re-integrated that *Nation* in their antient Liberty and Honor. For the *West Indies*, though *Spain* hath had yet not much actual disturbance there, except it have been from *England*; yet nevertheless I see all Princes lay a kind of claim unto them; accounting the Title of *Spain*, but as a Monopoly of those large Countreys, wherein they have, in great part, but an Imaginary Possession. For *Africk* upon the *West*, the Moors of *Valentia* expulsed, and their Allies, do yet hang as a Cloud or Storm over *Spain*. *Gabor* on the *East*, is like an Anniversary Wind, that riseth every year upon the Party of *Austria*. And *Persia* hath entred into Hostolity with *Spain*, and given them the first blow by taking of *Ormus*. It is within every mans observation also, that *Venice* doth think their State almost on fire, if the *Spaniards* hold the *Valtoline*. That *Savoy* hath learnt by fresh experience, That Alliance with *Spain* is no Security against the Ambition of *Spain*; And that of *Bavaria* hath likewise bin taught, that Merit and Service doth oblige the *Spaniard* but from day to day. Neither do I say, for all this, but that *Spain* may rectifie much of this ill blood, by their particular and cunning Negotiations: But yet there it is in the Body, and may break out, no man knows when, into ill Accidents: but at least it sheweth plainly that which serveth for our purpose; That *Spain* is much destitute of Assur'd and Confident *Confederates*. And therefore I will conclude this Part, with the Speech of a *Councellor* of State, in *Spain*, at this day, which was not without Salt. He said to his Master, the King of *Spain*, that now is, upon occasion: *Sir, I will tell your Majesty thus much for your comfort; Your Majesty hath but two Enemies; whereof the one is, All the World; And the other is, Your own Ministers.* And thus I end the Second Main Part, I propounded to speak of; which was, The *Ballancing* of the *Forces*, between the *Kings Majesty*, and the *King* of *Spain*, if a War must follow.

FINIS.

AN

ADVERTISEMENT

Touching an

HOLY WAR.

Written in the Year, 1622.

Whereunto the Author prefixed an Epiſtle to the Biſhop of *WINCHESTER* laſt deceaſed.

LONDON,

Printed by *J. M.* for *Humphrey Robinſon*, and Sold by *William Lee*, 1670.

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND Father in *GOD*

Lancelot Andrews,

Lord Biſhop of

WINCHESTER;

And Counſellour of Eſtate to his *MAJESTY.*

My Lord,

AMongſt Conſolations, it is not the leaſt, to repreſent to a Mans ſelf, like Examples *of Calamity in others. For* Examples *give a quicker Impreſſion, than* Arguments; *And beſides they certifie us that, which the* Scripture *alſo tendreth for ſatisfaction;* That no new thing is happened unto us. *This they do the better, by how much the* Examples, *are liker in circumſtances, to our own Caſe; And more eſpecially, if they fall upon* Perſons, *that are greater, and worthier, than our ſelves. For as it ſavoureth of Vanity, to match our ſelves highly, in our own conceit; So on the otherſide, it is a good ſound Concluſion, that if our Betters have ſuſtained the like Events, we have the leſs cauſe to be grieved.*

In this kind of Conſolation, I have not been wanting to my Self, Though as a Chriſtian, *I have taſted (through* Gods *great goodneſs,) of higher Remedies. Having therefore, through the Variety of my Reading, ſet before me, many*

Examples, *both of Ancient and Later Times, my Thoughts (I confeſs) have chiefly ſtayed upon three* Particulars, *as the moſt Eminent, and the moſt Reſembling. All three* Perſons, *that had held chief place of Authority in their Countries; All three ruined, not by War, or by any other Diſaſter, but by Juſtice, and Sentence, as Delinquents, and Criminals; All three famous Writers, inſomuch as the remembrance of their Calamity, is now as to Poſterity, but as a little Picture of Night-work, remaining amongſt the fair, and excellent Tables, of their Acts, and Works. And all three (if that were any thing to the matter,) fit* Examples *to quench any Mans Ambition of Riſing again; For that they were every one of them reſtored with great glory, but to their further Ruine and Deſtruction, ending in a violent Death. The* Men *were,* Demoſthenes, Cicero, *and* Seneca; *Perſons, that I durſt not claim Affinity with, except the Similitude of our Fortunes had contracted it. When I had caſt mine Eyes upon theſe* Examples, *I was carried on further to obſerve, how they did bear their Fortunes, and principally, how they did employ their Times, being baniſhed, and diſabled for Publick Buſineſs: To the end, that I might learn by them; And that they might be, as well my Counſellours, as my Comforters. Whereupon I happened to note, how diverſly, their Fortunes wrought upon them, eſpecially in that point, at which I did moſt aim, which was the employing of their Times, and Pens. In* Cicero, *I ſaw, that during his Baniſhment, (which was almoſt two years,) he was ſo ſoftned, and dejected, as he wrote nothing, but a few Womaniſh* Epiſtles. *And yet, in mine opinion, he had leaſt reaſon of the Three, to be diſcouraged: For that although it was judged, and judged by the higheſt kind of Judgment, in form of a* Statute, *or* Law, *that he ſhould be baniſhed; And his whole Eſtate confiſcated, and ſeized; And his houſes pulled down; And that it ſhould be highly penal, for any Man, to propound his Repeal; Yet his Caſe, even then, had no great Blot of Ignominy, but it was thought, but a Tempeſt of Popularity, which overthrew him.* Demoſthenes *contrariwiſe, though his Caſe was foul, being condemned for* Bribery; *And not ſimple* Bribery, *but* Bribery *in the Nature of Treaſon, and Diſloyalty; yet nevertheleſs took*

ſo

ſo little knowledge of his Fortune, as during his Baniſh-ment, he did much buſie himſelf, and intermeddle with mat-ters of State; *And took upon him to Counſel the* State, (*as if he had been ſtill at the Helm,*) *by letters*; *As appears by ſome* Epiſtles *of his, which are extant.* Seneca *indeed, who was condemned, for many* Corruptions, *and* Crimes, *and baniſhed into a ſolitary* Iſland, *kept a Mean*; *And though his Pen did not freeſe, yet he abſtained from intruding into Matters of Buſineſs*; *But ſpent his time, in writing* Books, *of excellent Argument, and Uſe, for all Ages*; *Though he might have made better Choice, (ſometimes) of his* Dedi-cations.

Theſe Examples *confirmed me much in a Reſolution, (whereunto I was otherwiſe inclined,) to ſpend my Time wholly in Writing*; *And to put forth that poor* Talent, *or half* Talent, *or what it is, that God hath given me, not as heretofore to particular* Exchanges, *but to* Banks, *or* Mounts *of Perpetuity, which will not break. Therefore having not long ſince, ſet forth a part of my* Inſtauration; *Which is the Work, that in mine own judgment,* (Si nunquam fallit Imago,) *I do moſt eſteem*; *I think to proceed in ſome new parts thereof. And although I have received from many Parts beyond the Seas, Teſtimonies touching that Work, ſuch as beyond which I could not expect at the firſt, in ſo abſtruſe an Argument*; *yet nevertheleſs I have juſt cauſe to doubt, that it flies too high over Mens Heads: I have a purpoſe therefore, (though I break the order of Time,) to draw it down to the ſenſe, by ſome Patterns of a* Natural Story, *and* Inquiſition. *And again, for that my* Book *of* Advancement of Learn-ing, *may be ſome Preparative, or Key, for the better opening of the* Inſtauration; *Becauſe it exhibits a Mixture, of new Conceits, and old*; *whereas the* Inſtauration, *gives the new unmixed, otherwiſe than with ſome little Aſperſion of the old, for taſtes ſake*; *I have thought good to procure a* Tranſlati-on *of that* Book, *into the* General Language, *not without great and ample Additions, and Enrichment thereof*; *Eſpe-cially in the* Second Book, *which handleth the* Partition *of* Sciences: *In ſuch ſort, as I hold it may ſerve, in lieu of the* Firſt Part, *of the* Inſtauration, *and acquit my promiſe in that*

part. Again, becauſe I cannot altogether deſert, the Civil Perſon, that I have born; Which if I ſhould forget, Enough would remember; I have alſo entred into a work touching Laws; *Propounding a Character of* Juſtice, *in a middle term, between the Speculative, and Reverend diſcourſes of Philoſophers, and the Writings of* Lawyers, *which are tied, and obnoxious to their particular* Laws. *And although it be true, that I had a purpoſe, to make a particular* Digeſt, *or Recompilement, of the* Laws, *of mine own Nation; Yet becauſe it is a Work of Aſſiſtance, and that, that I cannot maſter by mine own Forces, and Pen, I have laid it aſide. Now having in the* Work *of my* Inſtauration, *had in contemplation, the general Good of* Men, *in their very Being, and the Dowries of Nature; And in my* Work *of* Laws, *the general good of* Men *likewiſe, in Society, and the Dowries of Government; I thought in duty I owed ſomewhat unto mine own* Country, *which I ever loved; Inſomuch as although my Place, hath been far above my deſert, yet my Thoughts, and Cares concerning the Good thereof, were beyond, and over, and above my place: So now being (as I am) no more able to do my* Country *Service, it remained unto me, to do it Honour: Which I have endeavoured to do, in my* Work, *of the* Reign, *of* King HENRY *the* Seventh. *As for my* Eſſayes, *and ſome other Particulars of that nature, I count them, but as the Recreations of my other Studies, and in that ſort purpoſe to continue them; Though I am not ignorant, that thoſe kind of* Writings, *would, with leſs pains, and embracement, (perhaps,) yield more Luſtre, and Reputation to my Name, than thoſe other, which I have in hand. But I account the Uſe, that a Man ſhould ſeek, of the publiſhing of his own* Writings *before his Death, to be but an untimely Anticipation of that, which is proper to follow a Man, and not to go along with him.*

But revolving with my ſelf, my Writings, *as well thoſe which I have publiſhed, as thoſe, which I had in hand, me thought they went all into the* City, *and none into the* Temple; *Where becauſe I have found, ſo great Conſolation, I deſire likewiſe to make ſome poor Oblation. Therefore I have choſen an Argument, mixt of* Religious *and* Civil *Conſiderations;*

ons; *And likewiſe mixt between* Contemplative, *and* Active. *For who can tell, whether there may not be an* Exoriere aliquis? *Great Matters* (*eſpecially if they be* Religious) *have* (*many times*) *ſmall beginnings*; *And the Platform, may draw on the Building. This* Work, *becauſe I was ever an Enemy to flattring* Dedications, *I have dedicated to your Lordſhip*; *In reſpect of our ancient, and private Acquaintance*; *And becauſe amongſt the Men of our Times, I hold you in eſpecial Reverence.*

Your Lordſhips

Loving Friend,

Fr. St. *Alban.*

A N

AN ADVERTISEMENT Touching an HOLY WAR.

The persons that speak.

EVSEBIVS. GAMALIEL. ZEBEDÆVS. MARTIVS. EVPOLIS. POLLIO.

Characters of the Persons. *Eusebius* beareth the Character of a Moderate Divine. *Gamaliel* of a Protestant Zelant. *Zebedæus* of a Romish Catholick Zelant. *Martius* of a Militar Man. *Eupolis* of a Politick. *Pollio* of a Courtier.

THere met at *Paris*, (in the House of *Eupolis*,) *Eusebius*, *Zebedæus*, *Gamaliel*, *Martius*; All Persons of eminent Quality, but of several Dispositions. *Eupolis* himself was also present: And while they were set in conference, *Pollio* came in to them from Court; And as soon as he saw them, after his witty and pleasant manner, he said.

Pollio. Here be four of you, I think, were able to make a good *World*; for you are as differing as the Four *Elements*, and yet you are Friends. As for *Eupolis*, because he is Temperate, and without Passion, he may be the *Fifth Essence*. *Eupolis.* If we five (*Pollio*,) make the *Great World*, you alone may make the *Little*; Because you profess and practise both, to refer all things to your Self. *Pollio.* And what do they that practise it, and profess it not? *Eupolis.* They are the less Hardy, and the more Dangerous. But come, and sit down with us, for we were speaking of the *Affairs* of *Christendom*, at this day: Wherein we would be glad also, to have your Opinion. *Pollio.* My Lords, I have journeyed this Morning, and it is now the heat of the Day; Therefore your Lordships Discourses had need content my Ears very well, to make them entreat mine Eyes to

keep open. But yet if you will give me leave to awake you, when I think your Diſcourſes do but ſleep, I will keep watch the beſt I can. *Eupolis.* You cannot do us a greater Favour. Only I fear, you will think all our Diſcourſes, to be but the better ſort of Dreams: For good wiſhes, without power to effect, are not much more. But Sir, when you came in, *Martius* had both raiſed our Attentions, and affected us with ſome Speech he had begun; And it falleth out well, to ſhake off your Drowſineſs, for it ſeemed to be the *Trumpet* of a *War*. And therefore, (*Martius*,) if it pleaſe you, to begin again; For the Speech was ſuch, as deſerveth to be heard twice; And I aſſure you, your Auditory is not a little amended, by the preſence of *Pollio*. *Martius.* When you came in, (*Pollio*,) I was ſaying freely to theſe Lords, that I had obſerved, how by the ſpace now, of half a *Century* of years, there had been (if I may ſpeak it,) a kind of Meanneſs, in the Deſignes, and Enterpriſes of *Chriſtendom*. Wars with *Subjects*; Like an angry Sute for a Mans own, that might be better ended by Accord. Some petty Acqueſts of a Town, or a Spot of Territory; Like a Farmers Purchaſe of a Cloſe, or nook of ground, that lay fit for him. And although the *Wars* had been, for a *Naples*, or a *Millain*, or a *Portugal*, or a *Bohemia*, yet theſe *Wars* were but as the *Wars* of Heathen, (of *Athens*, or *Sparta*, or *Rome*,) for ſecular Intereſt, or Ambition, not worthy the *Warfare* of *Chriſtians*. The *Church* (indeed) maketh her Miſſions, into the extream parts of the *Nations*, and *Iſles*; And it is well: But this is, *Ecce Unus Gladius hic.* The *Chriſtian Princes*, and *Potentates* are they, that are wanting, to the Propagation of the *Faith*, by their *Arms*. Yet our *Lord*, that ſaid on Earth, to the *Diſciples*, *Ite & prædicate*; Said from Heaven, to *Conſtantine*, *In hoc ſigno Vince*. What *Chriſtian Souldier* is there, that will not be touched, with a Religious Emulation, to ſee an *Order* of *Jeſus*, or of Saint *Francis*, or of Saint *Auguſtine*, do ſuch ſervice, for enlarging the *Chriſtian Borders*; And an *Order* of Saint *Jago*, or Saint *Michael*, or Saint *George*, only to Robe, and Feaſt, and perform Rites, and Obſervances? Surely the *Merchants* themſelves, ſhall riſe in judgment againſt the *Princes*, and *Nobles* of *Europe*: For they have made a great Path, in the Seas, unto the ends of the World; And ſet forth Ships, and Forces, of *Spaniſh*, *Engliſh*, and *Dutch*, enough to make *China* tremble; And all this for *Pearl*, or *Stone*, or *Spices*: But for the *Pearl* of the *Kingdom* of *Heaven*, Or the *Stones* of the *Heavenly Hieruſalem*, Or the *Spices* of the *Sponſes Garden*, not a *Maſt* hath been ſet up. Nay they can make ſhift, to ſhed *Chriſtian* Bloud, ſo far off amongſt themſelves, and not a Drop for the Cauſe of *Chriſt*. But let me recall my ſelf; I muſt acknowledge, that within the ſpace of fifty years (whereof I ſpake,) there have been three Noble, and Memorable *Actions*, upon the *Infidels*, wherein the *Chriſtian* hath been the *Invader*. For where it is, upon the Defenſive, I reckon it, a *War* of Nature, and not of Piety. The firſt was, that Famous and Fortunate *War* by *Sea*, that ended in the Victory of *Lepanto*; Which hath put a Hook into the Noſtrils of the *Ottomans*, to this day: Which was the Work

(chiefly)

(chiefly) of that excellent *Pope*, *Pius Quintus*; whom I wonder his Succeſſours have not declared a *Saint*. The ſecond was, the Noble, though Unfortunate, *Expedition*, of *Sebaſtian King* of *Portugal*, upon *Africk*, which was atchieved by him alone; So alone, as left ſomewhat for others to Excuſe. The laſt was, the brave *Incurſions* of *Sigiſmund* the *Tranſilvanian Prince*; The thred of whoſe Proſperity was cut off, by the *Chriſtians* themſelves; contrary to the Worthy and Paternal Monitories of *Pope Clement the Eighth*: More than theſe, I do not remember. *Pol.* No! what ſay you, to the *Extirpation* of the *Moors* of *Valentia*? *At which ſudden Queſtion*, Martius *was a little at a ſtop, and* Gamaliel *prevented him, and ſaid.* *Gamaliel.* I think *Martius* did well in omitting that Action, for I, for my part, never approved it; And it ſeems, *God* was not well pleaſed with that Deed; For you ſee the *King*, in whoſe time it paſſed, (whom you Catholicks count a Saint-like, and Immaculate *Prince*,) was taken away, in the Flower of his Age: And the *Author*, and great *Counſellour* of that Rigour, (whoſe Fortunes ſeemed to be *built upon the Rock*,) is ruined: And it is thought by ſome, that the reckonings of that Buſineſs, are not yet clear'd with *Spain*: For that numbers of thoſe ſuppoſed *Moors*, being tried now by their Exile, continue conſtant in the *Faith*, and true *Chriſtians* in all points, ſave in the thirſt of *Revenge*. *Zebed.* Make not haſty Judgment, (*Gamaliel*,) of that great action; Which was as *Chriſts Fan*, in thoſe Countries; Except you could ſhew, ſome ſuch Covenant, from the *Crown* of *Spain*, as *Joſuah* made with the *Gibeonites*; That that *Curſed Seed* ſhould continue in the Land. And you ſee, it was done by *Edict*, not tumultuouſly; The Sword was not put into the *Peoples* hand. *Eupol.* I think, *Martius* did omit it, not as making any Judgment of it, either way; But becauſe it ſorted not aptly, with Actions of *War*, being upon Subjects, and without reſiſtance. But let us, if you think good, give *Martius* leave, to proceed in his Diſcourſe; For methought he ſpake, like a *Divine* in *Armour*. *Martius.* It is true, (*Eupolis*,) that the Principal Object, which I have before mine Eyes, in that whereof I ſpeak, is Piety, and Religion. But nevertheleſs, if I ſhould ſpeak only as a Natural Man, I ſhould perſwade the ſame thing. For there is no ſuch Enterpriſe, at this day, for ſecular Greatneſs, and terrene Honour, as a *War* upon *Infidels*. Neither do I, in this, propound a Novelty, or Imagination, but that, which is proved by late Examples of the ſame kind, though perhaps of leſs difficulty. The *Caſtilians*, the Age before that wherein we live, opened the *New World*; And ſubdued, and planted *Mexico*, *Peru*, *Chile*, and other Parts of the *Weſt Indies*. We ſee what Floods of Treaſure, have flowed into *Europe*, by that Action; So that the Cenſe, or Rates of *Chriſtendom*, are raiſed ſince ten times, yea twenty times told. Of this Treaſure, it is true, the *Gold* was Accumulate, and Store Treaſure, for the moſt part; But the *Silver* is ſtill growing. Beſides, infinite is the Acceſs of Territory, and Empire, by the ſame Enterpriſe. For there was never an *Hand* drawn, that did double the *Reſt*, of the *Habitable World*, before this; For ſo a

Man

Man may truly term it, if he ſhall put to account, as well that that is, as that which may be hereafter, by the further Occupation, and Colonizing of thoſe Countries. And yet it cannot be affirmed, (if one ſpeak ingenuouſly,) that it was the *Propagation* of the *Chriſtian Faith*, that was the Adamant of that Diſcovery, Entry, and Plantation; But Gold, and Silver, and Temporal Profit, and Glory: So that, what was firſt in *Gods* Providence, was but ſecond in Mans Appetite, and Intention. The like may be ſaid, of the famous Navigations, and Conqueſts of *Emannel*, *King* of *Portugal*, whoſe Armes began to circle *Africk* and *Aſia*; and to acquire not only the Trade of Spices, and Stones, and Muſk, and Drugs, but Footing, and places, in thoſe extream parts of the *Eaſt*. For neither in this, was *Religion* the principal, but Amplification, and Enlargement, of Riches, and Dominion. And the Effect, of theſe two Enterpriſes, is now ſuch, that both the *Eaſt*, and the *Weſt Indies*, being met in the *Crown* of *Spain*, it is come to paſs, that as one ſaith in a brave kind of Expreſſion; *The Sun never ſets in the Spaniſh Dominions, but ever ſhines, upon one part, or other of them*: Which, to ſay truly, is a beam of Glory, though I cannot ſay, it is ſo ſolid a Body of Glory, wherein the *Crown* of *Spain*, ſurpaſſeth all the former *Monarchies*. So as to conclude, we may ſee, that in theſe Actions upon *Gentiles*, or *Infidels*, only or chiefly, both the Spiritual, and Temporal, Honour and Good, have been in one purſuit and purchaſe conjoyned. *Pol.* Methinks, with your favour, you ſhould remember, (*Martius*,) that Wild, and Savage People, are like Beaſts, and Birds, which are *Feræ Naturæ*, the Property of which paſſeth with the Poſſeſſion, and goeth to the Occupant; But of Civil People, it is not ſo. *Mar.* I know no ſuch difference, amongſt reaſonable Souls; But that what ſoever is in order, to the greateſt, and moſt general good of people, may juſtifie the Action, be the people more, or leſs Civil. But, (*Eupolis*) I ſhall not eaſily grant, that the people of *Peru*, or *Mexico*, were ſuch brute Savages, as you intend; or that there ſhould be any ſuch difference between them, and many of the Infidels, which are now in other parts. In *Peru*, though they were unapparelled People, according to the Clime; And had ſome Cuſtoms very barbarous; Yet the *Government* of the *Incae's*, had many parts of Humanity, and Civility. They had reduced the *Nations*, from the *Adoration* of a multitude of *Idols* and *Fancies*, to the *Adoration* of the *Sun*. And, as I remember, the *Book* of *Wiſdom* noteth degrees of *Idolatry*; making that of *Worſhipping* Petty and Vile *Idols*, more groſs, than ſimply the *Worſhipping* of the *Creature*. And ſome of the *Prophets*, as I take it, do the like, in the Metaphore, of more ugly, and beſtial *Fornication*. The *Peruvians* alſo, (under the *Incaes*,) had magnificent Temples of their Superſtition; They had ſtrict and regular Juſtice; They bare great Faith, and Obedience to their *Kings*; They proceeded in a kind of Martial Juſtice with their Enemies, offering them their Law, as better for their own good, before they drew their Sword. And much like, was the State of *Mexico*, being an *Elective Monarchy*. As for thoſe people of the Eaſt, (*Goa*, *Calecute*,

Calecute, *Malaca*,) they were a fine, and dainty people, Frugal, and yet Elegant, though not Militar. So that if things be rightly weighed, the *Empire* of the *Turks* may be truly affirmed, to be more barbarous, than any of theſe. A cruel Tyranny, bathed in the blood of their Emperours, upon every Succeſſion: A heap of Vaſſals and Slaves: No Nobles, No Gentlemen: No Free-men, No Inheritance of Land, No Stirp or Ancient Families: A people that is without *Natural Affection*, and, as the *Scripture* ſaith, that *Regardeth not the deſires of Women:* And without Piety, or care towards their Children: A *Nation* without Morality, without Letters, Arts, or Sciences; That can ſcarce meaſure an Acre of Land, or an hour of the Day: Baſe and fluttiſh in Buildings, Diets, and the like: And in a word, a very reproach of Human Society: And yet this *Nation* hath made the *Garden* of the *World*, a *Wilderneſs*; For that, as it is truly ſaid, concerning the *Turks*; *Where Ottomans Horſe ſets his Foot, people will come up very thin.* *Pollio.* Yet in the midſt of your Invective, (*Martius*,) do the *Turks* this right, as to remember, that they are no *Idolaters:* For if, as you ſay, there be a difference, between *Worſhipping* a baſe *Idol*, and the *Sun*; There is a much greater difference, between worſhipping a *Creature*, and the *Creator.* For the *Turks* do acknowledge *God* the *Father*, *Creator* of *Heaven*, and *Earth*, being the firſt Perſon in the *Trinity*, though they deny the reſt. *At which Speech, when* Martius *made ſome pauſe*, Zebedæus *replied with a Countenance of great Reprehenſion, and Severity.* *Zebed.* We muſt take heed, (*Pollio*,) that we fall not at unawares, into the Hereſie of *Manuel Comnenus*, *Emperour* of *Grecia*; Who affirmed, that *Muhomets God*, was the true *God*; Which Opinion was not only rejected, and condemned by the *Synod*, but imputed to the *Emperour*, as extream Madneſs; Being reproached to him alſo, by the *Biſhop* of *Theſſalonica*, in thoſe bitter, and ſtrange Words, as are not to be named. *Martius.* I confeſs, that it is my Opinion, that a *War* upon the *Turk*, is more worthy, than upon any other Gentiles, Infidels, or Savages, that either have been, or now are, both in point of *Religion*, and in point of *Honour*; Though facility, and hope of Succeſs, might (perhaps) invite ſome other Choice. But before I proceed, both my Self would be glad to take ſome Breath; And I ſhall frankly deſire, that ſome of your Lordſhips would take your turn to ſpeak, that can do it better. But chiefly, for that I ſee here ſome, that are excellent Interpreters of the *Divine Law*, though in ſeveral ways; And that I have reaſon to diſtruſt mine own Judgment, both as weak in it ſelf, and as that, which may be overborn by my Zeal, and Affection to this Cauſe. I think it were an Errour to ſpeak further, till I may ſee ſome ſound Foundation laid, of the *Lawfulneſs* of the *Action*, by them that are better verſed in that Argument. *Eupolis.* I am glad, (*Martius*,) to ſee in a Perſon of your Profeſſion, ſo great Moderation, in that you are not tranſported in an Action, that warms the blood, and is appearing Holy, to blaunch, or take for admitted, the point of *Lawfulneſs.* And becauſe methinks this Conference proſpers, if your

Lordſhips will give me leave, I will make ſome motion, touching the diſtribution of it into Parts. *Unto which, when they all aſſented, Eupolis* ſaid. *Eupolis.* I think, it would not ſort amiſs, if *Zebedæus* would be pleaſed, to handle the Queſtion; Whether a *War*, for the *Propagation* of the *Chriſtian Faith*, without other cauſe of Hoſtility, be lawful, or no, and in what Caſes? I confeſs alſo, I would be glad to go a little further; And to hear it ſpoken to, concerning the *Lawfulneſs*, not only permiſſively, but whether it be not Obligatory, to *Chriſtian Princes*, and *States*, to deſign it: Which part, if it pleaſe *Gamaliel* to undertake, the point of the *Lawfulneſs*, taken ſimply, will be Compleat. Yet there reſteth the *Comparative:* That is, it being granted, that it is either *Lawful*, or *Binding*, yet whether other things be not to be preferr'd before it; As *Extirpation* of *Hereſies*; *Reconcilements* of *Schiſms*; *Purſuit* of *Lawful Temporal Rights*, and *Quarrels*; and the like: And how far this *Enterpriſe*, ought either to wait upon theſe other Matters; Or to be mingled with them; Or to paſs by them, and give Law to them, as inferiour unto it ſelf; And becauſe this is a great part, and *Euſebius* hath yet ſaid nothing, we will, by way of Mulct, or Pain, if your Lordſhips think good, lay it upon him. All this while, I doubt much, that *Pollio*, who hath a ſharp Wit of Diſcovery, towards what is Solid and Real, and what is Specious and Aiery, will eſteem all this but *Impoſſibilities*, and Eagles in the Clouds: And therefore we ſhall all intreat him, to cruſh this *Argument*, with his beſt Forces; That by the Light, we ſhall take from him, we may either caſt it away, if it be found but a Bladder; Or diſcharge it, of ſo much as is vain, and not ſperable. And becauſe, I confeſs, I my ſelf am not of that Opinion, although it be an hard Encounter to deal with *Pollio*, yet I ſhall do my beſt, to prove the *Enterpriſe Poſſible*; And to ſhew, how all *Impediments* may be either removed, or overcomen. And then it will be fit for *Martius*, (if we do not deſert it before,) to reſume his further Diſcourſe, as well for the *Perſwaſive*, as for the *Conſult*, touching the *Means*, *Preparations*, and all that may conduce unto the *Enterpriſe*. But this is but my Wiſh, your Lordſhips will put it into better order. *They all not only allowed the* Diſtribution, *but accepted the* Parts: *But becauſe the Day was ſpent, they agreed, to deſer it, till the next Morning. Only* Pollio *ſaid. Pollio.* You take me right, (*Eupolis*;) For I am of opinion, that except you could bray *Chriſtendom* in a Mortar, and mould it into a New Paſt, there is no *Poſſibilitie* of an *Holy War*. And I was ever of opinion, that the *Philoſophers Stone*, and an *Holy War*, were but the *Rendezvous* of Crackt Brains, that wore their Feather in their Head, inſtead of their Hat. Nevertheleſs, believe me of Courteſie, that if you *Five* ſhall be of another mind, eſpecially after you have heard what I can ſay, I ſhall be ready to certifie with *Hippocrates*, that *Athens* is mad, and *Democritus* is only ſober. And leſt you ſhould take me for altogether Adverſe, I will frankly contribute to the Buſineſs, now at firſt. Ye, no doubt, will amongſt you deviſe and diſcourſe many ſolemn Matters: But do as I ſhall tell you. This *Pope* is Decrepit, and the Bell goeth for him. Take order, that when

when he is Dead, there be choſen a *Pope* of freſh years, between fifty and threeſcore; And ſee that he take the Name of *Urban*, becauſe a *Pope* of that Name did firſt inſtitute the *Cruzada*; And, (as with an holy Trumpet,) did ſtir up the *Voyage*, for the *Holy Land*. *Eupolis.* You ſay well; but be, I pray you, a little more ſerious in this Conference.

The next day, the ſame Perſons *met, as they had appointed; And after they were ſet, and that there had paſſed ſome ſporting ſpeeches from* Pollio, *how the* War *was already begun; For that, (he ſaid) he had dream't of nothing but* Janizaries, *and* Tartars, *and* Sultans *all the night long*, Martius *ſaid. Martius.* The *Diſtribution* of this Conference, which was made by *Eupolis* yeſternight, and was by us approved, ſeemeth to me perfect, ſave in one Point; and that is, not in the *Number*, but in the *Placing* of the *Parts*. For it is ſo diſpoſed, that *Pollio* and *Eupolis*, ſhall debate the *Poſſibility*, or *Impoſſibility* of the *Action*, before I ſhall deduce the *Particulars* of the *Means*, and *Manner*, by which it is to be atchieved. Now I have often obſerved in *Deliberations*, that the entring near hand, into the manner of Performance, and Execution of that, which is under Deliberation, hath quite overturn'd the Opinion formerly conceiv'd, of the *Poſſibility*, or *Impoſſibility*. So that things, that at the firſt ſhew, ſeemed *Poſſible*, by Ripping up the Performance of them, have been convicted of *Impoſſibility*; and things, that, on the other ſide, have ſhewed *Impoſſible*, by the Declaration of the Means to effect them, as by a back Light, have appeared *Poſſible*, the way thorow them being diſcerned. This I ſpeak, not to alter the Order, but only to deſire *Pollio*, and *Eupolis*, not to ſpeak peremptorily, or concluſively, touching the Point of *Poſſibility*, till they have heard me deduce the *Means* of the Execution: And that done, to reſerve themſelves at liberty for a Reply, after they had before them, as it were, a Model of the *Enterpriſe*. *This grave and ſolid Advertiſement, and Caution of* Martius, *was much commended by them all; Whereupon* Eupolis *ſaid. Eupolis.* Since *Martius* hath begun to refine that, which was yeſternight reſolved; I may the better have leave, (eſpecially in the mending of a Propoſition, which was mine own,) to remember an Omiſſion, which is more than a miſplacing. For I doubt, we ought to have added, or inſerted into the point of *Lawfulneſs*, the Queſtion; How far an *Holy War* is to be purſued, whether to Diſplanting, and Exterminion of *People?* And again, whether to enforce a new Belief, and to vindicate, or puniſh Infidelity; Or only to ſubject the Countries and People; And ſo, by the Temporal Sword, to open a Door, for the Spiritual Sword to enter, by Perſwaſion, Inſtruction, and ſuch Means, as are proper for Souls and Conſciences? But it may be, neither is this neceſſary, to be made a Part by it ſelf; For that *Zebedæus*, in his wiſdom will fall into it, as an incident to the Point of *Lawfulneſs*, which cannot be handled without Limitations, and Diſtinctions. *Zebedæus.* You encourage me, (*Eupolis*,) in that I perceive, how in your Judgment, (which I do ſo much eſteem,) I ought to take that Courſe, which of my ſelf I was purpoſed

poſed to do. For as *Martius* noted well, that it is but a looſe thing, to ſpeak of *Poſſibilities*, without the particular *Deſigns*; So is it, to ſpeak of *Lawfulneſs*, without the particular *Caſes*. I will therefore, firſt of all, diſtinguiſh the *Caſes*; Though you ſhall give me leave in the handling of them, not to ſever them, with too much Preciſeneſs: For both it would cauſe needleſs Length; And we are not now in *Arts*, or *Methods*, but in a *Conference*. It is therefore, firſt to be put to Queſtion in general, (as *Eupolis* propounded it,) whether it be *lawful* for Chriſtian Princes, or States, to make an *Invaſive War*, only and ſimply, for the *Propagation* of the *Faith*, without other Cauſe of Hoſtility, or Circumſtance, that may provoke and induce the *War*? Secondly, whether it being made part of the Caſe, that the Countries were once *Chriſtian*, and Members of the *Church*, and where the *Golden Candleſticks* did ſtand, though now they be utterly alienated, and no *Chriſtians* left; it be not lawful to make a *War*, to reſtore them to the *Church*, as an ancient Patrimony of *Chriſt*? Thirdly, if it be made a further part of the Caſe, that there are yet remaining in the Countries, multitudes of *Chriſtians*, whether it be not *lawful* to make a *War*, to free them, and deliver them, from the ſervitude of the *Infidels*? Fourthly, whether it be not *Lawful* to make a *War*, for the Purging, and Recovery of Conſecrate Places, being now polluted, and Prophaned; As the *Holy City*, and *Sepulchre*, and ſuch other places of principal Adoration, and Devotion? Fifthly, whether it be not *Lawful*, to make a *War*, for the Revenge, or Vindication of Blaſphemies, and Reproaches, againſt the *Deity*, and our *Bleſſed Saviour*; Or for the Effuſion of *Chriſtian Blood*, and Cruelties againſt *Chriſtians*, though ancient, and long ſince paſt; Conſidering that *Gods* Viſits, are without limitation of Time; And many times, do but expect the fullneſs of the Sin? Sixthly, it is to be conſidered, (as *Eupolis* now laſt well remembred,) whether a *Holy War*, (which, as in the Worthineſs of the Quarrel, ſo in the Juſtneſs of the Proſecution, ought to exceed all Temporal *Wars*,) may be purſued, either to the Expulſion of People, or the Enforcement of Conſciences, or the like Extremities; Or how to be moderated, and limited; Leſt whilſt we remember we are *Chriſtians*, we forget that others are Men; But there is a *Point*, that precedeth all theſe Points recited; Nay, and in a manner diſchargeth them, in the particular of a *War* againſt the *Turk*: which *Point*, I think, would not have come into my thought, but that *Martius* giving us yeſterday, a Repreſentation of the *Empire* of the *Turks*, with no ſmall vigour of words, (which you (*Pollio*) called an Invective, but was indeed a true Charge,) did put me in mind of it: And the more I think upon it, the more I ſettle in Opinion; That a *War*, to ſuppreſs that *Empire*, though we ſet aſide the Cauſe of *Religion*, were a juſt *War*. *After* Zebedæus *had ſaid this, he made a Pauſe, to ſee whether any of the reſt would ſay any thing: But when he perceived nothing, but Silence, and Signs of Attention, to that he would further ſay, he proceeded thus.*

Zebedæus. Your Lordſhips will not look for a *Treatiſe* from me, but

but a Speech of *Conſultation*; And in that Brevity and Manner, will I ſpeak. Firſt, I ſhall agree, that as the *Cauſe* of a *War* ought to be Juſt; So the *Juſtice* of that *Cauſe* ought to be Evident; Not Obſcure, not Scrupulous. For by the conſent of all Laws, in Capital Cauſes, the Evidence muſt be full and clear: And if ſo, where one Mans life is in Queſtion, what ſay we to a *War*, which is ever the Sentence of Death upon many? We muſt beware therefore, how we make a *Moloch*, or an *Heathen Idol*, of our *Bleſſed Saviour*, in ſacrificing the Blood of Men to him, by an unjuſt *War*. The *Juſtice* of every *Action*, conſiſteth in the *Merits* of the *Cauſe*, the *Warrant* of the *Juriſdiction*, and the *Form* of the *Proſecution*. As for the *Inward Intention*, I leave it, to the *Court* of *Heaven*. Of theſe things ſeverally, as they may have Relation to the preſent ſubject of a *War* againſt *Infidels*; And namely, againſt the moſt Potent, and moſt Dangerous Enemy of the *Faith*, the *Turk*. I hold, and I doubt not, but I ſhall make it plain, (as far as a Sum, or Breef can make a Cauſe plain,) that a *War* againſt the *Turk*, is *Lawful*, both by the *Laws* of *Nature*, and *Nations*; And by the *Law Divine*, which is the Perfection of the other two. As for the *Laws Poſitive*, and *Civil* of the *Romans*, or other whatſoever, they are too ſmall Engins, to move the Weight of this Queſtion. And therefore, in my judgment, many of the late *Schoolmen*, (though excellent Men,) take not the right way in diſputing this Queſtion; Except they had the gift of *Navius*, that they could *Cotem novaculâ ſcindere*; *Hew Stones with Pen-knives*. Firſt, for the *Law* of *Nature*. The Philoſopher *Ariſtotle* is no ill Interpreter thereof. He hath ſet many Men on work, with a witty ſpeech of *Naturâ Dominus*, and *Naturâ Servus*; Affirming expreſly, and poſitively; *That from the very Nativity, ſome things are born to Rule, and ſome things to Obey*. Which Oracle hath been taken in divers ſenſes. Some have taken it, for a Speech of Oſtentation, to entitle the *Grecians* to an *Empire* over the *Barbarians*; Which indeed was better maintained by his Scholar *Alexander*. Some have taken it, for a Speculative Platform, that Reaſon and Nature would, that the beſt ſhould govern; But, not in any wiſe to create a Right. But for my part, I take it neither for a brag, nor for a wiſh; but for a Truth, as he limiteth it. For he ſaith, That if there can be found, ſuch an Inequality between Man and Man, as there is between Man and Beaſt, or between Soul and Body, it inveſteth a Right of Government; Which ſeemeth rather an Impoſſible Caſe, than an untrue Sentence. But I hold both the *Judgment* true, and the *Caſe* poſſible; And ſuch as hath had, and hath a Being, both in particular Men, and Nations. But ere we go further, let us confine Ambiguities, and Miſtakings, that they trouble us not. Firſt; to ſay, that the more Capable, or the better Deſerver, hath ſuch Right to Govern, as he may compulſorily bring under the leſs Worthy, is Idle. Men will never agree upon it, who is the more Worthy. For it is not only in order of Nature, for him to govern, that is the more Intelligent, as *Ariſtotle* would have it; But there is no leſs required for Government, Courage to protect; and,

above all, Honeſty, and Probity of the Will, to abſtain from Injury. So Fitneſs to govern, is a perplexed Buſineſs. Some Men, ſome Nations, excel in the one ability, ſome in the other. Therefore the Poſition, which I intend, is not in the *Comparative*, that the Wiſer, or the Stouter, or the juſter Nation ſhould govern; But in the *Privative*, that where there is an heap of People (though we term it a Kingdom, or State,) that is altogether unable, or indign to govern; There it is a juſt Cauſe of *War*, for another Nation, that is Civil, or Polliced, to ſubdue them: And this, though it were to be done, by a *Cyrus*, or a *Cæſar*, that were no Chriſtian. The ſecond miſtaking, to be baniſhed, is; That I underſtand not this of a *Perſonal Tyranny*, as was the State of *Rome*, under a *Caligula*, or a *Nero*, or a *Commodus*; Shall the Nation ſuffer for that wherein they ſuffer? But when the Conſtitution of the State, and the fundamental Cuſtoms, and *Laws* of the ſame, (if *Laws* they may be called,) are againſt the *Laws* of Nature, and Nations, then I ſay, a *War* upon them is lawful. I ſhall divide the Queſtion into three parts. Firſt, whether there be, or may be, any *Nation*, or *Society* of *Men*, againſt whom it is lawful to make a *War*, without a *Precedent Injury*, or *Provocation?* Secondly, what are thoſe *Breaches* of the *Law* of *Nature*, and *Nations*, which do forfeit, and deveſt, all Right, and Title, in a Nation to govern? And thirdly, whether thoſe *Breaches* of the *Law* of *Nature*, and *Nations*, be *found* in any *Nation*, at this day; And namely in the *Empire* of the *Ottomans?* For the firſt, I hold it clear, that ſuch Nations, or States, or Societies of People, there may be, and are. There cannot be a better ground laid, to declare this, than to look into the Original Donation of Government. Obſerve it well; Eſpecially the *Inducement*, or *Preface*. Saith *God: Let us make man after our own Image, and let him have dominion, over the Fiſhes of the Sea, and the Fowls of the Air, and the Beaſts of the Land, &c.* Hereupon *De Victoria*, and with him ſome others, infer excellently, and extract, a moſt true, and divine Aphoriſm; *Non fundatur Dominium, niſi in Imagine Dei.* Here we have the *Charter* of Foundation: It is now the more eaſie to judg of the *Forfeiture*, or *Reſeiſure*. Deface the *Image*, and you deveſt the *Right*. But what is this *Image*, and how is it defaced? The *Poor Men* of *Lyons*, and ſome Fanatical Spirits will tell you, that the *Image* of *God*, is *Purity*; And the *Defacement Sin*. But this ſubverteth all Government: Neither did *Adams* Sin, or the Curſe upon it, deprive him of his Rule, but left the Creatures, to a Rebellion, or Reluctation. And therefore, if you note it attentively, when this *Charter* was renewed unto *Noah*, and his *Sons*, it is not by the words, *You ſhall have Dominion:* But, *Your Feat ſhall be upon all the Beaſts of the Land, and the Birds of the Air, and all that moveth*; Not re-granting the Soveraignty, which ſtood firm; But protecting it againſt the Reluctation. The ſound Interpreters therefore, expound this *Image* of *God*, of *Natural Reaſon*; Which if it be totally, or moſtly defaced, the *Right* of *Government* doth ceaſe: And if you mark all the Interpreters well, ſtill they doubt of the *Caſe*, and not of the *Law*.

Law. But this is properly to be ſpoken to, in handling the ſecond *Point*, when we ſhall define of the *Defacements*. To go on. The *Prophet Hoſea*, in the Perſon of *God*, ſaith of the *Jews*; *They have reigned, but not by me*; *They have ſet a Signory over themſelves, but I knew nothing of it.* Which place proveth plainly, that there are *Governments*, which *God* doth not avow. For though they be ordained by his ſecret Providence, yet they are not knowledged by his revealed Will: Neither can this be meant of evil Governours, or Tyrants: For they are often avowed, and ſtabliſhed, as lawful Potentates; But of ſome perverſneſs and defection, in the very Nation it ſelf; Which appeareth moſt manifeſtly, in that the *Prophet* ſpeaketh, of the *Signory* in *Abſtracto*, and not of the *Perſon* of the *Lord*. And although ſome *Hereticks*, of thoſe we ſpeak of, have abuſed this *Text*, yet the *Sun* is not ſoiled in Paſſage. And again, if any Man infer, upon the words of the *Prophets* following, (which declare this *Rejection*, and to uſe the words of the *Text*, *Reſciſion* of their *Eſtate*, to have been for their *Idolatry*,) that by this Reaſon, the *Governments* of all *Idolatrous Nations*, ſhould be alſo diſſolved, (which is manifeſtly untrue,) in my judgment it followeth not. For the *Idolatry* of the *Jews* then, and the *Idolatry* of the *Heathen* then and now, are Sins of a far differing Nature, in regard of the ſpecial Covenant, and the clear manifeſtations, wherein *God* did contract, and exhibit himſelf to that *Nation*. This *Nullity* of *Policy*, and *Right* of *Eſtate*, in ſome *Nations*, is yet more ſignificantly expreſſed, by *Moſes* in his *Canticle*: In the Perſon of *God* to the *Jews*: *Ye have incenſed me with Gods, that are no Gods, and I will incenſe you with a People, that are no People.* Such as were (no doubt) the *People* of *Canaan*, after *Seiſin* was given, of the *Land* of *Promiſe*, to the *Iſraelites*. For from that time, their Right to the *Land* was diſſolved, though they remained in many Places unconquered. By this we may ſee, that there are *Nations* in *Name*, that are no *Nations* in Right, but multitudes only, and ſwarms of People. For like as there are *Particular Perſons*, utlawed, and proſcribed by civil Laws, of ſeveral Countries; So are there *Nations*, that are utlawed, and proſcribed, by the Law of Nature, and Nations; Or by the immediate Commandment of God. And as there are *Kings de Facto*, and not *de Jure*, in reſpect of the Nullity of their Title; So are there *Nations*, that are Occupants *de Facto*, and not *de Jure*, of their Territories, in reſpect of the Nullity, of their Policy, or Government. But let us take in ſome *Examples*, into the midſt of our *Proofs*; For they will prove as much as put after; And illuſtrate more. It was never doubted, but a *War* upon *Pyrates*, may be lawfully made, by any Nation, though not infeſted, or violated by them. Is it becauſe, they have not *Certas Sedes*, or *Lares*? In the *Pyratical War*, which was atchieved by *Pompey* the *Great*, and was his trueſt, and greateſt glory; the *Pyrates* had ſome Cities, ſundry Ports, and a great part of the Province of *Cilicia*; And the *Pyrates* now being have a Receptacle, and Manſion in *Algiers*. Beaſts are not the leſs Savage; becauſe they have Dens. Is it becauſe the danger hovers,

hovers, as a Cloud, that a Man cannot tell, where it will fall; And ſo it is every Mans Caſe. The Reaſon is good; But it is not all, nor that which is moſt alledged. For the true received Reaſon is, that *Pyrates* are *Communes Humani Generis Hoſtes*; Whom all Nations are to proſecute, not ſo much in the Right of their own Fears, as upon the Band of Humane Society. For as there are formal and written Leagues, Reſpective to certain Enemies; So is there a Natural, and Tacite Confederation, amongſt all Men, againſt the common Enemy of Humane Society. So as there needs no Intimation, or Denunciation of the *War*; There needs no Requeſt from the *Nation* grieved; But all theſe Formalities, the Law of Nature ſupplies, in the Caſe of *Pyrates*. The ſame is the Caſe of *Rovers* by *Land*; Such as yet are ſome *Cantons* in *Arabia*; And ſome petty *Kings* of the *Mountains*, adjacent to *Streights*, and *Ways*. Neither is it lawful, only for the *Neighbour Princes*, to deſtroy ſuch *Pyrates*, or *Rovers*; But if there were any *Nation*, never ſo far off, that would make it an *Enterpriſe* of Merit, and true Glory, (as the *Romans*, that made a *War* for the Liberty of *Grecia*, from a diſtant and remote part,) no doubt they might do it. I make the ſame Judgment, of that *Kingdom* of the *Aſſaſins*, now deſtroyed, which was ſituate upon the Borders of *Saraca*; And was, for a time, a great Terrour to all the *Princes* of the *Levant*. There the Cuſtom was, that upon the Commandment of their *King*, and a blind Obedience to be given thereunto, any of them was to undertake, in the nature of a Votary, the inſidious Murther of any *Prince*, or *Perſon*, upon whom the Commandment went. This Cuſtom, without all queſtion, made their whole *Government* void, as an Engine built againſt *Humane Society*, worthy by all Men to be fired, and pulled down. I ſay the like, of the *Anabaptiſts* of *Munſter*; And this, although they had not been *Rebels* to the *Empire*: And put Caſe likewiſe, that they had done no Miſchief at all actually: yet if there ſhall be a Congregation, and conſent of People, that ſhall hold all things to be lawful; Not according to any certain Laws, or Rules, but according to the ſecret, and variable Motions, and Inſtincts of the Spirit; This is indeed no *Nation*, no *People*, no *Signory*, that *God* doth know: Any Nation, that is Civil, and Polliced, may (if they will not be reduced,) cut them off, from the Face of the Earth. Now let me put a feigned Caſe, (And yet Antiquity makes it doubtful, whether it were Fiction, or Hiſtory,) of a *Land* of *Amazons*, where the whole *Government*, publick and private, yea the *Militia* it Self, was in the hands of *Women*. I demand, is not ſuch a Prepoſterous *Government*, (againſt the firſt Order of Nature, for *Women* to rule over *Men*,) in it ſelf void, and to be ſuppreſſed? I ſpeak not of the *Reign of Women*; (For that is ſupplied by Counſel, and ſubordinate Magiſtrates Maſculine;) But where the *Regiment* of State, Juſtice, Families, is all managed by *Women*. And yet this laſt *Caſe*, differeth from the other before: Becauſe in the reſt there is Terrour of Danger, but in this there is only Errour of Nature. Neither ſhould I make any great difficulty, to affirm the ſame, of the *Sultanry* of the *Mamaluches*;

Mamalnches; where *Slaves*, and none but *Slaves*, bought for Money, and of unknown Deſcent, reigned over Families of *Free-men*. And much like were the Caſe, if you ſuppoſe a *Nation*, where the Cuſtom were, that after full Age, the *Sons* ſhould Expulſe their *Fathers*, and *Mothers*, out of their Poſſeſſions, and put them to their Penſions: For theſe Caſes, of *Women* to govern *Men*, *Sons* the *Fathers*, *Slaves Free-Men*, are much in the ſame degree; All being total Violations and Perverſions, of the Laws of Nature, and Nations. For the *Weſt-Indies*, I perceive (*Martius*) you have read *Garcilazzo de Viega*, who himſelf was deſcended of the race of the *Incaes*, a *Meſtizo*, and is willing to make the beſt, of the Vertues and Manners of his *Country*. And yet, in troth, he doth it ſoberly, and credibly enough. Yet you ſhall hardly edifie me, that thoſe *Nations* might not, by the *Law* of *Nature*, have been ſubdued by any *Nation*, that had only Policy, and Moral Vertue; Though the *Propagation* of the *Faith*, (whereof we ſhall ſpeak in the proper place,) were ſet by, and not made part of the *Caſe*. Surely, their *Nakedneſs*, (being with them, in moſt parts of that Country, without all Vail or Covering,) was a great Defacement: For in the acknowledgment of *Nakedneſs*, was the firſt Senſe of Sin: And the *Hereſie* of the *Adamites*, was ever accounted an affront of Nature. But upon theſe I ſtand not: Nor yet upon their *Idiocy*, in thinking that *Horſes* did eat their Bitts, and *Letters* ſpeak, and the like. Nor yet upon their *Sorceries*, which are (almoſt) common to all *Idolatrous Nations*. But, I ſay, their *Sacrificing*, and, more eſpecially, their *Eating* of *Men*, is ſuch an Abomination, as (methinks) a Mans Face ſhould be a little confuſed, to deny, that this Cuſtom joyned with the reſt, did not make it lawful, for the *Spaniards* to invade their Territory, forfeited by the Law of Nature; And either to reduce them, or diſplant them. But far be it from me, yet nevertheleſs to juſtifie the *Cruelties*, which were at firſt uſed towards them; which had their reward ſoon after; There being not one of the Principal, of the firſt *Conquerors*, but died a violent Death himſelf; And was well followed by the Deaths of many more. Of *Examples* enough: Except we ſhould add the *Labours* of *Hercules*: An *Example*, which though it be flouriſhed with much Fabulous Matter, yet ſo much it hath, that it doth notably ſet forth, the conſent of all Nations, and Ages, in the approbation of the extirpating, and debellating of *Gyants*, *Monſters*, and *Foren Tyrants*, not only as lawful, but as Meritorious, even of *Divine* Honour. And this, although the *Deliverer* came, from the one End of the *World*, unto the other. Let us now ſet down ſome *Arguments*, to prove the ſame; Regarding rather Weight, than Number, as in ſuch a *Conference* as this is fit. The firſt *Argument* ſhall be this. It is a great Errour, and a narrowneſs, or ſtraightneſs of Mind, if any Man think, that Nations have nothing to do one with another, except there be, either an Union in Soveraignty, or a Conjunction in Pacts or Leagues. There are other *Bands* of *Society*, and implicite *Confederations*. That of *Colonies*, or *Tranſmigrants*, towards their *Mother Nation*. *Gentes unius labii* is ſomewhat; For as the *Confuſion*

ſion of *Tongues*, was a mark of Separation, ſo the *Being* of *one Language*, is a mark of Union. To have the ſame *Fundamental Laws*, and *Cuſtoms*, in chief, is yet more; As it was between the *Grecians*, in reſpect of the *Barbarians*. To be of one *Sect*, or *Worſhip*; If it be a *Falſe Worſhip*, I ſpeak not of it, for that is but *Fratres in Malo*. But above all theſe, there is the Supream, and Indiſſoluble *Conſanguinity*, and *Society*, between *Men* in general: Of which the *Heathen Poet*, (whom the *Apoſtle* calls to witneſs,) ſaith; *We are all his Generation*. But much more, we *Chriſtians*, unto whom it is revealed in particularity, that all *Men* came from one *Lump* of *Earth*; And that two ſingular *Perſons*, were the *Parents*, from whom all the *Generations* of the *World* are deſcended. We (I ſay) ought to acknowledge, that no *Nations*, are wholly Aliens, and Strangers, the one to the other: And not to be leſs charitable, than the perſon introduced by the *Comick Poet*; *Homoſum, Humani nihil à me alienum puto*. Now if there be ſuch a *Tacite League*, or *Confederation*, ſure it is not idle; It is againſt ſomewhat, or ſome Body: Who ſhould they be? Is it againſt *Wild Beaſts?* Or the *Elements*, of *Fire*, and *Water?* No, it is againſt ſuch *Routs*, and *Sholes* of *People*, as have utterly degenerate, from the *Laws* of *Nature*; As have, in their very Body, and frame of Eſtate, a *Monſtroſity*; And may be truly accounted, (according to the *Examples* we have formerly recited,) *Common Enemies*, and *Grievances* of *Mankind*; Or *Diſgraces*, and *Reproaches to Humane Nature*. Such People, all Nations are intereſſed, and ought to be reſenting, to ſuppreſs; Conſidering that the *Particular States* themſelves, being the *Delinquents*, can give no redreſs. And this I ſay, is not to be meaſured ſo much, by the *Principles* of *Juriſts*, as by *Lex Charitatis*; *Lex proximi*, which includes the *Samaritan*, as well as the *Levite*; *Lex Filiorum Adæ de Maſſâ unâ*: Upon which *Original Laws*, this Opinion is grounded: Which to deny, (if a man may ſpeak freely,) were almoſt to be a *Schiſmatick* in *Nature*.

The reſt was not perfected.

AN

AN

OFFER

To our Late Sovereign *KING*

JAMES,

OF A

DIGEST

To be made of the *LAWS* of *ENGLAND.*

LONDON,

Printed by *J. M.* for *Humphrey Robinſon*, and Sold by *William Lee*, 1670.

TO THE

KING;

OF A

DIGEST

To be made of the *LAWS* of *ENGLAND.*

Most Excellent Soveraign,

AMongst the Degrees and Acts of Soveraign, or rather Heroical Honour, the First, or Second, is the Person, and Merit, of a *Law-giver. Princes* that govern well, are *Fathers* of the *People.* "But if a *Father* breed "his Son well, or allow him well, while he liveth, but "leave him nothing at his Death; whereby both he, and his Chil-"dren, and his Childrens Children may be the better; Surely the care "and Piety of a *Father*, is not in him compleat. So *Kings*, if they make a Portion of an Age happy by their good Government, yet if they do not make *Testaments*, (as *God Almighty* doth,) whereby a Perpetuity of Good may descend to their Country, they are but Mortal and Transitory Benefactors. *Domitian*, a few days before he died, dream't, that a *Golden Head did rise upon the nape of his Neck.* Which was truly performed in the *Golden Age*, that followed his times, for five Successions. But *Kings*, by giving their Subjects good *Laws*, may (if they will) in their own time, joyn and graft this Golden Head, upon their own Necks, after their Death. Nay they may make *Nabuchadonozors Image of Monarchy, golden from Head to Foot.* And if any of the Meaner sort of *Politiques*, that are sighted only to see the worst of things, think; That *Laws* are but

 Cobwebs,

Cobwebs, and that good *Princes* will do well without them, and bad will not ſtand much upon them; The Diſcourſe is neither good, nor wiſe. For certain it is, that good *Laws*, are ſome bridle to bad *Princes*; And as a very *Wall about Government*. And if Tyrants (ſometime) make a breach into them, yet they mollifie even Tyranny it ſelf; As *Solons Laws* did the *Tyranny* of *Piſiſtratus*: And then (commonly) they get up again, upon the firſt Advantage of better times. Other means to perpetuate the Memory, and Merits of *Soveraign Princes*, are inferiour to this. *Buildings* of *Temples*, *Tombs*, *Palaces*, *Theaters*, and the like, are honourable things, and look big upon Poſterity. But *Conſtantine* the *Great* gave the Name well to thoſe works, when he uſed to call *Trajan*, that was a great *Builder*, *Parietaria*, *Wall-Flower*; Becauſe his *Name* was upon ſo many *Walls*. So if that be the Matter, that a *King* would turn *Wall-flower*, or *Fellitory* of the *Wall*, with coſt he may. *Adrian*'s vein was better; For his mind was to wreſtle a fall with Time; And being a great Progreſſour through all the *Roman Empire*, when ever he found any *Decaies* of Bridges, or High-ways, or Cuts of Rivers and Sewers, or Walls, or Banks, or the like, he gave ſubſtantial order, for their repair with the better. He gave alſo Multitudes of *Charters*, and *Liberties*, for the comfort of Corporations, and Companies in decay. So that his Bounty did ſtrive with the *Ruines* of *Time*. But yet this, though it were an excellent Diſpoſition, went but (in effect) to the Caſes and Shells of a *Common-wealth*. It was nothing to Vertue or Vice. A bad Man might indifferently take the benefit and eaſe of his Waies and Bridges, as well as a good; And bad People might purchaſe good *Charters*. Surely, the better Works of Perpetuity in *Princes*, are thoſe, that *waſh the in-ſide of the Cup*. Such as are *Foundations* of *Colledges*, and *Lectures*, for Learning and Education of youth; Likewiſe *Foundations* and *Inſtitutions* of *Orders* and *Fraternities*, for Nobleneſs, Enterpriſe, and Obedience, and the like. But yet theſe alſo, are but like Plantations, of Orchards, and Gardens, in Plots and Spots of Ground, here and there; They do not till over the whole *Kingdom*, and make it fruitful, as doth the Eſtabliſhing of good *Laws* and *Ordinances*; Which makes a whole *Nation*, to be as a well ordered *Colledg*, or *Foundation*.

This kind of Work, in the memory of Times, is rare enough to ſhew it Excellent; And yet not ſo rare, as to make it ſuſpected, for Impoſſible, Inconvenient, or Unſafe. *Moſes*, that gave *Laws* to the *Hebrews*, becauſe he was the Scribe of *God* himſelf, is fitter to be named for honours ſake to other *Law-Givers*, than to be numbred or ranked amongſt them. *Minos*, *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*, are Examples for Themes of Grammar Scholars. For ancient Perſonages, and Characters, now adays, uſe to wax Children again; Though that *Parable* of *Pindarus* be true; *The beſt thing is Water*. For Common and Trivial Things are (many times) the beſt; And rather deſpiſed upon Pride, becauſe they are vulgar, than upon Cauſe, or Uſe. Certain it is, that the *Laws* of thoſe three *Law-Givers*, had great *Prerogatives*. The firſt, of *Fame*; Becauſe they were the Pattern

Pattern amongſt the *Grecians*. The ſecond, of *Laſting*; For they continued longeſt without alteration. The third, of a *Spirit* of *Reviver*; To be often oppreſſed, and often reſtored.

Amongſt the ſeven *Kings* of *Rome*, four were *Law-Givers*. For it is moſt true, that a *Diſcourſer* of *Italy* ſaith: *There was never State, ſo well ſwadled in the Infancy, as the Roman was, by the vertue of their firſt Kings:* Which was a principal Cauſe of the wonderful growth of that *State*, in after times.

The *Decemvirs Laws*, were *Laws* upon *Laws*, not the Original; For they grafted *Laws* of *Grecia*, upon *Roman* Stock, of *Laws*, and *Cuſtoms*. But ſuch was their ſucceſs, as the *Twelve Tables*, which they compiled, were the main Body of the *Laws*, which framed and weilded the great Body of that *Eſtate*. Theſe laſted a long time, with ſome *Supplementals*, and the *Pretorian Edicts in Albo*; Which were in reſpect of *Laws*, as Writing *Tables* in reſpect of Braſs; The one to be put in and out, as the other is permanent. *Lucius Cornelius Sylla* reformed the *Laws* of *Rome*. For that Man had three Singularities, which never *Tyrant* had, but he. That he was a *Law-Giver*; That he took part with the Nobility; And, That he turned Private Man, not upon Fear, but upon Confidence.

Cæſar long after deſired to imitate him only in the Firſt; For otherwiſe he relied upon new Men: And for reſigning his Power, *Seneca* deſcribeth him right: *Cæſar gladium citò condidit, nunquam poſuit. Cæſar ſoon ſheathed his Sword, but never put it off.* And himſelf took it upon him, ſaying in ſcorn of *Sylla*'s Reſignation. *Sylla neſcivit literas, dictare non potuit. Sylla knew no letters, he could not dictate.* But for the part of a *Law-Giver*, *Cicero* giveth him the Attribute. *Cæſar, ſi ab eo quæreretur, quid egiſſet in Togâ; leges ſe reſpondiſſet, multas & præclaras tuliſſe. If you had asked* Cæſar, *what he did in the Gown, he would have anſwered, that he made many excellent Laws.* His Nephew *Auguſtus* did tread the ſame ſteps, but with deeper print, becauſe of his long Reign in peace; Whereof one of the *Poets* of his time ſaith;

Pace datâ terris, animum ad Civilia vertit:
Jura ſuum, legeſq; tulit juſtiſſimus Author.

From that time, there was ſuch a Race of Wit and Authority, between the *Commentaries* and *Deciſions* of the *Lawyers*, and the *Edicts* of the *Emperours*, as both *Laws* and *Lawyers* were out of breath. Whereupon *Juſtinian* in the end recompiled both; And made a Body of *Laws*, ſuch as might be weilded; which himſelf calleth glorioufly, and yet not above truth; *The Edifice or Structure of a ſacred Temple of Juſtice*; Built indeed, out of the former *Ruines* of Books, as Materials, and ſome *Novel Conſtitutions* of his own.

In *Athens* they had *Sexviri*, (as *Æſchines* obſerveth,) which were ſtanding *Commiſſioners*; Who did watch to diſcern, what laws waxed unproper for the Times, and what new *Law* did in any branch

branch croſs a former *Law*, and ſo *Ex officio* propounded their Repeal.

King Edgar collected the *Laws* of this *Kingdom*, and gave them the ſtrength of a Faggot bound, which formerly were diſperſed: Which was more glory to him, then his Sailing about this Iſland, with a potent Fleet. For that was, as the *Scripture* ſaith, *Via navis in mari*; *The way of a Ship in the Sea*; It vaniſhed; but this laſteth. *Alphonſo* the *Wiſe*, (the ninth of that Name,) *King* of *Caſtile*, compiled the *Digeſt* of the *Laws* of *Spain*, Intituled the *Siete Partidas*; An excellent Work, which he finiſhed in ſeven years. And as *Tacitus* noteth well; That the *Capitol*, though built in the beginings of *Rome*, yet was fit for the great *Monarchy* that came after; So that *Building* of *Laws* ſufficeth the Greatneſs of the *Empire* of *Spain*, which ſince hath enſued.

Lewis the eleventh had it in his mind, (though he performed it not,) to have made one conſtant *Law* of *France*; Extracted out of the *Civil Roman Law*, and the *Cuſtoms* of *Provinces* which are various, and the *Kings Edicts* which with the *French* are *Statutes*. Surely he might have done well, if, like as he brought the *Crown*, (as he ſaid himſelf,) from *Page*; So he had brought his *People* from *Lacquay*; Not to run up and down for their *Laws*, to the *Civil Law*, and the Ordinances, and the Cuſtoms, and the Diſcretions of Courts, and diſcourſes of Philoſophers, as they uſe to do.

King Henry the Eighth, in the twenty ſeventh year of his Reign, was authorized by *Parliament*, to nominate 32 Commiſſioners, part Eccleſiaſtical, and part Temporal; To purge the *Canon Law*, and to make it agreeable to the *Law* of *God*, and the *Law* of the *Land*. But it took not effect. "For the Acts of that *King* were (commonly) "rather Proffers, and Fames, than either well grounded, or well "purſued. But I doubt, I erre in producing ſo many examples. For as *Cicero* ſaid to *Cæſar*, ſo may I ſay to your Majeſty; *Nil vulgare te dignum videri poſſit*. Though indeed this well underſtood is far from *Vulgar*. For that the *Laws* of the moſt *Kingdoms* and *States*, have been like Buildings of many pieces, and patched up, from time to time, according to occaſions, without Frame, or Model.

Now for the *Laws* of *England*, (if I ſhall ſpeak my Opinion of them, without partiality, either to my Profeſſion, or Country,) for the Matter and Nature of them, I hold them Wiſe, Juſt, and Moderate *Laws*: They give to *God*, they give to *Cæſar*, they give to the *Subject*, what appertaineth. It is true, they are as mixt, as our *Language*, compounded of *Britiſh*, *Roman*, *Saxon*, *Daniſh*, *Norman Cuſtoms*. And ſurely, as our *Language* is thereby ſo much the richer; So our *Laws* are likewiſe by that Mixture, the more compleat.

Neither doth this attribute leſs to them, than thoſe that would have them to have ſtood out the ſame in all Mutations. For no Tree is ſo good firſt ſet, as by tranſplanting, and Grafting. I remember what happened to *Calliſthenes*, that followed *Alexanders* Court, and was grown into ſome diſpleaſure with him, becauſe he could not well brook the *Perſian Adoration*. At a Supper, (which with the *Grecians*

Grecians was a great part Talk,) he was desired, (the *King* being present,) because he was an Eloquent Man, to speak of some Theme; Which he did; And chose for his Theme the praise of the *Macedonian Nation*; Which though it were but a filling Thing, to praise Men to their Faces, yet he performed it with such advantage of Truth, and avoidance of Flattery, and with such Life, as was much applauded by the Hearers. The *King* was the less pleased with it, not loving the Man, and by way of discountenance, said; *It was easie to be a good Oratour in a pleasing Theme*; But saith he to him; *Turn your stile*; *And tell us now of our faults, that we may have the profit, and not you the praise only:* Which he presently did, with such Quickness, that *Alexander* said; *That Malice made him Eloquent then, as the Theme had done before.* I shall not fall into either of these extreams, in this subject, of the *Laws* of *England.* I have commended them before for the *Matter*, but surely they ask much amendment for the *Form*; Which to reduce and perfect, I hold to be one of the greatest Dowries, that can be confer'd upon this Kingdom. Which Work, for the Excellency, as it is worthy your *Majesties* Act, and Times; So it hath some circumstance of Propriety agreeable to your *Person.* *God* hath blessed your *Majesty* with Posterity; And I am not of opinion, that *Kings* that are barren, are fittest to supply Perpetuity of Generations, by perpetuity of Noble Acts; But contrariwise, that they that leave Posterity, are the more interessed in the Care of Future Times; That as well their Progeny, as their People, may participate of their Merit.

Your *Majesty* is a great Master in Justice, and Judicature; And it were pity, the fruit of that your Vertue, should not be transmitted to the Ages to come. Your *Majesty* also reigneth in learned times, the more, (no doubt,) in regard of your own perfection in Learning, and your Patronage thereof. And it hath been the Mishap of *Works* of this Nature, that the less Learned Time, hath (sometimes) wrought upon the more Learned; Which now will not be so. As for my self, the *Law* was my Profession, to which I am a Debter: Some little helps I have of other Arts, which may give Form to Matter; And I have now, (by *Gods* merciful Chastisement, and by his special Providence,) time and leisure, to put my Talent, or half-Talent, or what it is, to such Exchanges, as may perhaps exceed the Interest of an Active Life. Therefore, as in the beginning of my Troubles, I made offer to your *Majesty* to take pains in the *Story* of *England*, and in compiling a *Method* and *Digest* of your *Laws*; So have I performed the first, (which rested but upon my self,) in some part; And I do, in all humbleness, renew the offer of this latter, (which will require Help and Assistance,) to your *Majesty*, if it shall stand with your good pleasure, to imploy my Service therein.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF

KING

Henry the Eighth.

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THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF KING Henry the Eighth.

AFter the Deceaſe of that Wiſe and Fortunate *King*, *Henry* the VII. who died in the Height of his Proſperity, there followed (as uſeth to do, when the Sun ſetteth ſo exceeding clear,) one of the faireſt Mornings of a *Kingdom*, that hath been known in this *Land*, or any where elſe. A young *King*, about 18 years of Age, for Stature, Strength, Making, and Beauty, one of the goodlieſt Perſons of his time: And though he were given to Pleaſure, yet he was likewiſe deſirous of Glory; So that there was a paſſage open in his Mind, by Glory, for Vertue. Neither was he un-adorned with Learning, though therein he came ſhort of his *Brother Arthur*. He had never any the leaſt Pique, Difference, or Jealouſie, with the *King* his *Father*, which might give any occaſion, of altering *Court*, or *Counſel* upon the change, but all things paſſed

in a Still. He was the firſt Heir of the *White*, and the *Red Roſe*; So that there was no diſcontented Party now left in the *Kingdom*, but all Mens Hearts turned towards him. And not only their Hearts, but their Eyes alſo. For he was the only Son of the *Kingdom*. He had no *Brother*, which though it be a comfortable thing, for *Kings* to have, yet it draweth the Subjects Eyes a little aſide. And yet being a married Man in thoſe young years, it promiſed hope of ſpeedy Iſſue, to ſucceed in the *Crown*. Neither was there any *Queen Mother*, who might ſhare any way in the Government, or claſh with his *Counſellours* for Authority, while the *King* intended his pleaſure. No ſuch thing, as any Great and Mighty *Subject*, who might any way eclipſe, or overſhade the *Imperial Power*. And for the people, and *State* in general, they were in ſuch lowneſs of obedience, as Subjects were like to yield, who had lived almoſt four and twenty years, under ſo politique a *King*, as his *Father*; Being alſo one who came partly in by the Sword; And had ſo high a Courage in all points of Regalitie; And was ever victorious in Rebellions, and Seditions of the *People*. The *Crown* extreamly rich, and full of Treaſure, and the *Kingdom* like to be ſo in ſhort time. For there was no War, no Dearth, no Stop of Trade, or Commerce, it was only the *Crown*, which had ſucked too hard, and now being full, and upon the head of a young *King*, was like to draw leſs. Laſtly, he was Inheriter of his Fathers Reputation, which was great throughout the World. He had ſtreight Alliance, with the two Neighbour States, an ancient Enemy in former times, and an ancient Friend, *Scotland*, and *Burgundy*. He had Peace and Amity with *France*, under the Aſſurance, not only of Treaty and League, but of Neceſſity and Inhability in the *French* to do him hurt, in reſpect that the *French Kings* Deſigns were wholly bent upon *Italy*. So that it may be truly ſaid; there had ſcarcely been ſeen, or known, in many Ages, ſuch a rare Concurrence of Signs, and Promiſes of a happy, and flouriſhing Reign to enſue, as were now met in this young *King*, called, after his *Fathers* name, *HENRY* the Eighth, *&c.*

FINIS.